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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL 1922

THE SITUATION IN INDIA

BY LORD MESTON KCSI

IN giving to it the attention which the Indian situation demands to-day the British public are doubly handicapped. On the one hand they are distracted by the exciting events which are now chasing each other through domestic politics; on the other, they are very inadequately served with information of what is really happening in India. The morning newspaper is obsessed by only three topics. The antics of Mr Gandhi, the outrages for which he and his teachings are directly accountable, and the efforts of an irresponsible majority in the Legislative Assembly to wrest all power from the Central Government at Delhi. This, however, is by no means the whole picture. We hear nothing of the feeling in the public services, the treatment of Europeans, especially in isolated areas,* or even the part played by the new Indian Ministers, to whom we naturally look for the leadership of Indian public opinion. Meanwhile private letters from both Englishmen and friendly Indians, continue to bring the most perturbing news, and experts are not lacking to tell us that we are on the eve of losing India. We stand badly in need of a dispassionate review of the position from inside knowledge. Such a review was promised in the form of a despatch from Lord Reading early in February, but it has not yet seen the light.

* Lord Northcliffe's outspoken narrative was an exception to the general silence on those topics.

In its absence the following does not seem to be an over-statement

In the first place, outbreaks of mob violence are now at any time and almost anywhere possible Mr Gandhi's doctrines and the license enjoyed by his party have thoroughly unsettled the credulous masses, and brought to the surface the element of ruthless criminality which though always present in Indian society, is kept well under in normal times The arrest of Mr Gandhi himself has been taken with outward calm but any incident in the "martyrdom" he has so long courted may cast a spark into the inflammable material which has now accumulated Sporadic in all probability and badly organized the disturbances will be if they come, but none the less widespread and destructive and their chief fury will be reserved for Europeans and for Indians who have refused to countenance the non co operation movement Apprehensions on this score are general, and Lord Rawlinson's recent warning shows that they are not mere alarmism

In the second place, there is surging through the country a wave of racial animosity, which is breaking down the old kindly relations between the English officials and the people among whom they worked Large numbers of civil servants, including many who had thrown themselves whole heartedly into the reforms, despair of any further usefulness to India, and are only waiting the earliest moment for release In some provinces the trouble in this respect goes deeper than in others where the people cannot forget their natural courtesy, but the *mot d'ordre* has gone forth from the extremist camp that Europeans are to be boycotted and insulted as a step in the programme of their final ejection

In the third place, the new Constitution is already creaking and labouring heavily What was inaugurated two years ago was an instalment of self-government in the provinces and greater facilities to the elected representatives of the people for influencing the policy of the Central Administration As a check on any attempts by the new

Legislatures to exceed their powers the Governors in the one case, and the Governor General in the other, were invested with wide authority to take measures necessary for the discharge of the responsibilities reserved to them respectively. This, in brief, was the scheme approved by Parliament, and acclaimed in India for its generosity. The extremists, it is true, have been consistent, then as now, in rejecting it as inadequate, and in demanding full self-government at once. But the more temperate politicians who undertook to work the scheme are straining the machinery in many directions, encroaching on the 'reserved' fields of business, and demanding to dictate policy for the consequences of which they have no responsibility. The Central Government has conceded much in the hope of arriving at a working understanding, but with a section of the Assembly reason is clearly being subordinated to the fear of extremist pressure, and each concession is only a sign for further claims. It is difficult to conceive how if this continues, a stable government is going to be carried on.

In the fourth place, India is only now experiencing the economic aftermath of the war, and beginning to face the anxieties with which we in this country are far too familiar. High prices and the low exchange are breaking the hearts of men on fixed pay, the empty provincial exchequers are shattering the hopes of eager reformers in education and the like while heavy military expenditure and largely increased taxation are enormously enhancing the difficulties of the Central Administration. India had dreams of the millennium and woke up to bankruptcy. Discontent and discouragement are the sequels.

This is the position, as I see it, in the broadest outline. By its gravity some observers are driven into advancing desperate remedies. A tropical administrator of the highest eminence advises the conversion wherever possible of British India into Indian States which would be a pitiful confession of the failure of our own system. More super-

ficial critics are clamouring for a Treaty, after the fashion of our pacts with Ireland and Egypt, whereby the advent of full Dominion status for India would be accelerated, and a date would be fixed for our withdrawal from the country. But what conceivable analogy is there between India on the one hand and Ireland or Egypt on the other? Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, has practised responsible government for over a century. Egypt has never been in the British Empire, and we are concluding what has always been avowedly a temporary occupation for a special purpose. India is a part of the British Empire, and has never known responsible government in any form, we have undertaken to give her free institutions as and when she adapts herself to their use. In drawing constitutional parallels a little commonsense is advisable.

The true remedy for the present ferment lies not in drastic change but in patience and a consistent policy on the part both of His Majesty's Government and of the Viceroy and his councillors on the spot. Their first and most urgent duty is the prevention of disorders, and for this task the local authorities must have adequate force available. Its disposition may be safely left to them, all that we can do from this end is to resist any weakening of the British garrison on grounds of economy or otherwise. Sixpence off the income tax would be a poor compensation for civil war in India. But next to armed force, which no one wishes to see employed, the chief insurance against disturbance of the peace is a steady enforcement of the ordinary law. If seditious meetings and the activities of Mr Gandhi's 'volunteers' are prohibited, the prohibition should be absolute and effective. Once the Government is seen to be in earnest, the sober-minded will soon rally to its support, and the pleasurable excitement of defying the law will steadily wane.

Then will come the harder task, the slow reconstruction of the position which Mr Gandhi has endeavoured to destroy. His assaults were delivered not only at our scheme

of political progress, but through it at our whole mission in India 'India for the Indians' is no new war-cry, there was a well-known revolutionary orator of Lord Minto's time who used to tour Bengal with a banner which bore the sole device "EXPULSION" But simple patriotism has never been its inner meaning and if we believe that we have any thing of value to leave with India when we finally depart we must now mobilize and strengthen that section of Indian thought which accepts our ideals of civilization and does not find the words of all wisdom in the Vedas To this end we must resolutely pursue our policy of training India in the use of free institutions, and obliterating all colour distinctions which lower the self respect of Indians In this way only can the spirit of co-operation replace the fever of racial bitterness

If there is to be co operation, however Englishmen and Indians must each have their allotted share in the work This was the keynote of the Act of 1919, and the sooner we get back to it the better Irksome though the system of dyarchy may be to the impatient or the ambitious, it preserves the balance of duties during the march towards full self government Short cuts, or what Sir Valentine Chirol * describes as 'skipping dyarchy, may easily set a province on the slippery path which ends in the Ministers enjoying power without responsibility and the Governor in Council being saddled with responsibility without power It was precisely this *dénouement* which certain Indian politicians strove to secure and the Government of India strenuously resisted, when the Act was on the anvil Lord Selborne's Committee could not have been more definite than they were in pronouncing against any short cuts in dyarchy

'They (the Committee) regard it as of the highest importance that the Governor should foster the habit of free consultation between both halves of his Government, and indeed that he should insist upon it in all important matters of common interest But while

* 'India Old and New,' p 238

the Committee anticipate much advantage from amicable and, as far as possible, spontaneous association for purposes of deliberation, they would not allow it to confuse the duties or obscure the separate responsibility which will rest on the two parts of the Administration. Each side of the Government will advise and assist the other, neither will control or impede the other" (*Joint Select Committee's Report, printed November 17, 1919, para 5*)

Further on in the same Report they lay down the principle that the Budget is not to be "used as a means for enabling Ministers or a majority of the Legislative Council to direct the policy of reserved subjects," and in more than one passage they insist that, if the Legislature attempts to manipulate the Budget in such a manner, the power of both the Viceroy and Governors to overrule it is real and meant to be used whenever necessary, and not to be regarded as unusual or arbitrary. This is how the Committee saw dyarchy working, and how Parliament intended it to work. Yet, before the Act was a year old, we had Mr Bhupendra Nath Basu writing to *The Times*,* in a letter worded as an appeal to the extremists

'We may dispute about the sufficiency of the measure, we may fret against its multitudinous safeguards, checks and counterchecks as not affording free scope to Indian talent, but these are only matters of detail, which time will soon rectify and adjust. I speak on this subject with knowledge, and I tell my countrymen that the Act gives them a machinery which, if they will only properly handle it will make them irresistible, and the Executive with their reserved subjects will be as much subject to their control as the Ministers with the transferred subjects.'

Coming from so well-informed an authority as a member of the Secretary of State's Council, while still in office, this hint needed little emphasis. Instead of confining themselves to the great administrative and social reforms which lie within their own jurisdiction, the Councils have in several instances been tempted to show themselves—in

* *The Times* of December 23, 1920

Mr Basu's phrase—irresistible, and to assert control over matters outside their sphere. Nothing but confusion and friction can result. Among the merits of the new Constitution, elasticity is not the least and it would be foolish to imagine that improvements in machinery and procedure will not be devised long before the first decennial stage is complete. But the main principles are the only rails on which the new Constitution can run. abandon them, and a smash is inevitable. If this is recognized when India returns to her senses and the bogey of non-co operation is laid, harmonious progress will become possible. Conflicts over jurisdiction where the law is clear can end only in the break down of the Constitution, and a break down means victory for reaction. Now reaction has two barrels. one is the creed that democratic institutions are unsuited to India, and that she must return to paternal government, the other is the belief that Western civilization is unsuited to India, and that she must get back to her own archaic past. A shot from either barrel is death to all that Englishmen have been trying to do for India in the last 150 years.

BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN INDIA

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY CRAIK, K C B., M P

It is a matter of grave regret that in recent years the Parliamentary debates upon India have become perfunctory and ineffective. The contrast is strange when we look back upon more than a century ago. India was then a remote and comparatively unknown country, with scanty means of intercourse, and her history was obscured in a mist of romance and legend. Yet how large a place did India then occupy not only in the speeches of our Parliamentary orators, but in the everyday talk and thoughts of the nation, as compared with the desultory references to the subject in Parliamentary debates and the listless apathy with which its most vital interests are now regarded? The abolition of the East India Company and that of the Board of Control were thought to be master strokes of statesmanship. The arguments for such changes were no doubt logically persuasive and the intentions of those who contrived them were probably good, but as a fact they have led to a gradually dwindling interest in the vast territories of the Indian Continent for which we are responsible. Only a handful of the electors have the faintest idea of the changes which we have lately carried out there, or have given a moment's thought to the dangers which they involve.

Whatever may have been the origin of our Indian Empire, and whatever may be thought of the means by which it was extended and buttressed, there can be no doubt whatever that her rulers came more and more to realize their moral responsibility, and to carry out their vast administrative work in a spirit worthy of the highest traditions of our country, and with all the instinctive genius

for dealing with subject races which is inherent in the best type of our countrymen. Whatever may have been the irregularities of the earlier generations of "Nabobs"—and we now know quite enough to discount the fables which served the purposes of Sheridan Fox, and Burke, and gave colour to their unscrupulous and ill informed tirades—yet it is indisputable that long generations of Indian administrators have since carried on a thankless and laborious task in a spirit of unselfish desire to do the best for their charge, and in the discharge of that task had adhered rigidly to the loftiest standard of official rectitude. The taint of selfishness and of self seeking if it ever existed, had been wiped out. They gave themselves body and soul to their work. Health, family ties, home ambitions—all these had often to be sacrificed. But they found their consolation in the intense interest of their work, in the call it made upon their sense of responsibility, and in the respect and cordiality which they earned in the hearts of those for whose welfare they were labouring. He has known but little, or has formed a very superficial estimate of the Indian administrator, who cannot recall a long line of men who shaped their lives on these ideals. They, by their joint efforts built up a monument of administration of which the world has never seen the equal.

But it was only natural that those who had the good of India at heart should pass on to new schemes for her advance along the road of self government. We had to give them some measure of freedom and independence and, provided due safeguards were taken those who cared most for the various races of India were not only tolerant of but zealous in, any such attempt. Unfortunately our national defects of imagination betrayed us then, as they have often betrayed us, into singular errors. We could conceive of no advancement except on Western models, the fetish of representative government was something which, to our minds, formed the very foundation of all political philosophy, and the essential condition of freedom, contentment,

or even intelligence. We indulged in vast schemes of "educating" the bewildering variety of races, creeds, and classes entrusted to our charge, and without any hesitation we decided that the only possible method was the adoption, wholesale, of Western methods of the earlier Victorian School, and that the only true gospel for those dwelling in the "ever silent spaces" of the East was the political economy of Bentham and the philosophy of John Stuart Mill. The responsibility for most of that stupendous and ghastly error must always rest with Lord Macaulay, and it was not the least of his mistakes. It was a misfortune for India, as well as for ourselves, that the schemes adopted from time to time for her advancement were not those elaborated out of long and intimate knowledge by those who had spent their lives there, but have always been those devised by those transitory and ill-informed interlopers who strut their hour upon the stage of her administration as Secretaries of State and Viceroys, and whose opportunity of making a mark as reformers is too brief to allow them the leisure for prolonged study or mature experience.

But such efforts to promote the sense of political responsibility in India, however imperfect the knowledge upon which they were based, and however distorted was the vision of Eastern life in the eyes of their complacent propounders, were no doubt prompted by a sincere desire to impart to those who were sunk 'in a pathetic contentment' some of that divine discontent, and that high intellectual standard which can be acquired only under the ennobling influence of representative institutions, and through the potent teaching of the electioneering caucus. One of the unfortunate incidents was that the tenure of these successive reformers was short, and their schemes of reform were seldom consistent. It is not so many years ago since Lord Morley thought that the best means of developing the political instinct, which was to be the salvation of three hundred millions of divided creeds,

diverse races, and antagonistic nations, was by associating them in the debating assemblies, and cultivating in them a critical power dissociated from responsibility. Lord Morley derided the idea of representative institutions on our own Parliamentary model, and even his reforming zeal did not judge that certain departments of executive authority could safely be handed over to those representatives of Indian opinion, who must be chosen on the ground that they are opposed to the leading principles of Anglo Indian administration. In less than a decade all Lord Morley's schemes were set aside for projects which were almost ludicrous in their method of conception, to which the nation was held to be committed by tactics which were scarcely creditable, and which were hurried through Parliament with unwarranted haste and lack of consideration.

The story of their origin is soon told. In the summer of 1917 Mr Montagu, then in Opposition, delivered a speech on Indian affairs which appeared to most of those who heard it a pronouncement of culpable rashness even on the part of one who had no official responsibility. Within a week or two we were astonished to find that the spokesman of opinions so reckless had been chosen as Mr Austen Chamberlain's successor in the India Office. The appointment was made the subject of formal and combined remonstrance by a large body of Conservative members at a personal interview with the then Conservative Leader, but the remonstrance produced as little effect as all remonstrances of the kind under the existing arrangements. Within a week of his appointment Mr Montagu, in reply to an arranged question, made a statement of policy on behalf of the Government, which corresponded generally with his rash utterances from the Opposition bench of a few days before. The forms of the House permitted no discussion, Parliament was almost immediately prorogued. And yet, with no sufficient warrant, this undiscussed pronouncement has been paraded as the solemn pledge of Government, and thereby — by a new assumption — of

Parliament, from which there can be no withdrawal except by a breach of faith. Never in the course of our political and constitutional history has there been a more flagrant and profligate instance of a reckless Ministerial statement being made the instrument of pledging the faith of Parliament to views to which even a House, absorbed in war, and hypnotized by bureaucratic pressure, would have hesitated to subscribe.

But the House was held to be committed although its consent had not been asked, and the necessary steps were at once taken to put into effect the rash project. The Secretary of State, by a new and far from useful innovation, announced that, in his official capacity, he was to perform the part of Paget M P, but a Paget M P invested, this time, with powers of revolutionary change. The "caste" of his travelling company was contrived with considerable skill, and it included a respected Conservative peer, Lord Donoughmore, to whom participation in a scheme of very drastic reform, proved more attractive than his friends would have liked to anticipate. The field was thrown open to amateur constructors of abstract constitutions: the resources of a highly intellectual group of political theorists proved equal to the task. By the ingenuity of one of their number a fantastic scheme was propounded which adopted the singular name of "diarchy," and which became eventually the cardinal feature in Mr Montagu's scheme. It would have touched the heart of the Abbé Sieyès, and, as we might expect, it had every practical defect that is likely to appear where pedantic self-complacency takes the place of experience and patient labour. It was gravely proposed that, instead of being associated in deliberate assemblies, and invited to discuss and criticize the proposals of the Executive, the Indian representatives should be assigned certain watertight compartments of the Government, and should act as the nominal colleagues of those from whom they were fundamentally divided in opinion and in aim, and, indeed, their absolute

severance from whom must necessarily be the condition of their election as the representatives of revolutionary opinion. Government is hereafter not to be united, but composed of parts necessarily and essentially hostile and continually at variance with one another. No contrivance could possibly have been devised more effectively to intensify and exacerbate division, and to produce a maximum of friction in the Government machine. Certain nominal safeguards were introduced to lessen the dangers which were obvious even to the propounders of the scheme. Limited powers of intervention were reserved to the Governor, to enable him to deal with deliberate attempts to dislocate administration. Already these powers have proved inadequate, or their exercise has led to friction and discontent—the very fuel by which the flames of revolution are best fed.

The next step of the process was as amusing as its predecessors. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy boldly laid aside all hampering precedents and the close of Mr. Montagu's trip was signalized by a joint Essay on Indian Reform, to which the names of himself and Lord Chelmsford were indissolubly attached. That responsible Ministers—one the representative of the Sovereign, the other acting in the name of Parliament—should enter into such a literary co-partnership of reforming propaganda is a new *départure*. It has its comic side, and presents a new phase of statesmanship.

Then a Bill, embodying the result of the Montagu-Chelmsford essay in constitutional reconstruction, and giving statutory force to the whimsical conception of diarchy, germinated in the pedantic brain of an inexperienced theorist, was laid before Parliament. Never was a portentous project confirmed with such utter absence of consideration. Scant time was allotted to the second reading of a Bill which we were assured only proposed to enact what a Minister had pledged Parliament to give, what the mature consideration of himself and a docile Viceroy had embodied in an edifying treatise, and what they had found a few

complacent civil servants, who were about to retire, and whose future was assured at home, prepared to bless with their approval. After the perfunctory formality of a second reading, the Bill was referred to a Joint Committee of Lords and Commons somewhat strangely composed. Not only were the Secretary of State and his Under-Secretary both given places on the Committee, but of the seven members from the House of Commons all but one had expressed unstinted approval of the Bill. In legislative records it would be difficult to adduce any instance of equally flagrant abuse of Parliamentary usage. And a Bill so conceived, so drafted, enlisting support from sources so open to doubt, was finally approved by the House of Lords, under the guidance of a Leader, with all whose expressed views on Indian administration it was in absolute contradiction.

The whole scheme is the work of pedantic theorists, who are as lacking in imagination as they are in practical experience, or in that patient and laborious effort which experience would prescribe. They have invented one of those specious paradoxes which delight the shallow brain—that efficient government may be an evil, and that freedom (or what poses as such) is well purchased even at the cost of inefficiency. Sayings like that are schoolboy tags, unworthy of thinking men. The scheme could not work, and if the truth were fairly allowed to be known, it is already proved to be bankrupt of all practical statesmanship. The so-called safeguards are parting like ropes of sand. You have launched a feeble bark, constructed by pedantry, and smiled upon by those ‘who gape and rub the elbow at the news of hurly-burly innovation,’ and it has already experienced many forebodings of shipwreck. We have a representative system which, in its utmost extension, could only comprise less than 5 per cent. of the population, and which is a game of hazard even amongst that petty handful out of the millions for whose welfare we are responsible. The frail vessel has to pursue its way amidst all the storms of racial and religious hatreds, and amongst the hidden rocks

of anarchy and disorder of which the uncharted sea is full. That disorder has been held in check by the inherent respect which the Eastern mind retains for a Government that is at once just and strong. Once that instinctive respect has been uprooted, and a vision of weak and vacillating administration has taken its place where is your safeguard against red handed Bolshevism?

We have wantonly scrapped that edifice of intelligent, zealous, and impartial administration which it was one of the greatest of our national achievements to build up. With something of callous indifference, some of the retiring members of the Indian Civil Service, who had themselves enjoyed lucrative posts, are fond of preaching of the high duties and responsibilities and the great opportunities which will belong to the Service of the future. It is easy to glose over the drawbacks of a situation which they themselves will not be called upon to occupy. As a fact, the Service has been stripped of all that made it a career for a man who desired a position in which there was room for initiative, for independent responsibility, for the realization of high ideals. No one who is called upon to advise would urge any young man to trust himself to a service, the heads of which have proved to the world that they are not in a position to defend the rights and to reward the services of their subordinates. The Indian Civil Service must reckon with a campaign, cunningly and acutely engineered, of unscrupulous slander against Anglo Indian officials, and the Government of India have as yet given no decisive sign of reprobating that campaign.

The dangers of this experiment, so rashly undertaken, so insufficiently considered, and so carelessly put into operation, are undoubted. To retrace our steps in a course of that sort is beyond human power. We must only look forward and trust that those in whose hands the government of India now rests will awake to the responsibility which rests upon this nation for the peace of India. We may be thankful that some of them have recently adopted

a tone which shows that, partially at least, they realize the danger. Even Lord Meston recognizes that all is not so absolutely well as he once tried to make us believe, and that the forebodings which he discounted in 1919 show signs of being realized in the near future. Above all let us hope that the wise words of warning which the Prime Minister felt compelled to utter during the debate on the Address may carry weight with those who were invited to ponder them. Let us trust that India's present rulers may rise to the level of their own words, will show themselves stern and unbending in repressing anarchy. If not, it is not they only who will have to bear the full force of national indignation, but they will have exposed our country to the everlasting shame of having failed in the mighty task which it was her chief pride to have discharged so nobly in the past.

THE PRINCE IN INDIA

BY EVERARD COTES

THE long-looked-for and much-debated tour of H R H the Prince of Wales in India is over

He did not go there inexperienced India was kept, perhaps wisely, for the later date in his itinerary of Empire that its problems and complexities demand The Indian tour was totally different from any of the previous journeyings the Prince had made In France and Italy, during the war, he was in an atmosphere entirely military, where he was only one of the soldiers of England fighting like those around him for the country and the homes they loved His presence was noted by his comrades, who were proud to see their future King doing his bit unostentatiously and strenuously like themselves Here he learnt much, but he remained himself in the background In Canada, Australia, and New Zealand another experience was his He was there the heralded ambassador of Empire to peoples of his own race and blood In the bigger European centres in India, in places like Calcutta, Rawalpindi, and Lucknow, the circumstances were in some ways comparable to those he had been amongst in the great Dominions. He was with his fellow countrymen again The welcome he received was overwhelming The demonstrations of affection and emotion his presence evoked were touching in their depth and seriousness Englishmen in India, holding the bounds of Empire from Kabul River to Adam's Bridge felt his visit as the coming to them in their exile of all that stood for what they loved and valued in the land of their birth They could hardly let him out of their sight while he was with them. They received him demonstratively in

their pride and joy when he arrived. They allowed him to depart with reluctance when the few hours he could spend with them were over. European India, however, supremely important as it may be from the point of view alike of the prosperity, the safety, and the good government of the country, was not primarily what he had come to India to visit.

So much may be taken for granted. But the Prince's mission was to India and to her peoples and races—to that great mass of humanity to which India stands for home. Here he had to make his way from the beginning, and the success he has achieved testifies not only to the personal qualities the Prince has brought to bear upon the problem, but to the community of India's interests, and to the unity of her sentiments and ideals, with those that animate the rest of the Empire. The Prince has been received by the three hundred millions of his father's subjects and feudatory friends with all the pageant of Oriental ceremony and splendour that this great land so incomparably offers. The reigning Indian princes and chiefs, the heads of all the administrations, everyone in the land who is distinguished by position, by achievement, by birth, by influence, by learning, or other repute, have waited upon him to do him honour. He has been welcomed and sped upon his way by cheering multitudes. He has been entertained and fêted from one end of the continent to the other. There is not a province that he has not visited, not a city of importance that he has not seen. The industries, trades, occupations, and employments of all the divergent Indian races have been marshalled in his sight.

The main, simple, and direct object of his visit was to meet and become acquainted with the people. "I want," he said, in one of the first speeches he made in Bombay after he had landed, "to appreciate at first hand what India is, and what she has done and can do. I want to grasp your difficulties and understand your aspirations. I want you to know me, and I want to know you." The spirit in

which he approached this immense task was characteristically diffident and conscientious. He described himself as coming to India to learn 'as a young man and a stranger,' as one also who was "fortified by the thought that sympathy begets knowledge." In this spirit he has proceeded throughout, and, in spite of a widespread political movement to boycott his visit he has succeeded phenomenally.

There is no more representative centre in the province where first he landed than the Poona racecourse in the autumn meeting. There, owners and managers of the Bombay cotton industry, merchant princes from palaces on Malabar Hill, and landed zemindars from country seats in the Deccan, rub shoulders with bunnia traders from the bazaars and with coolie operatives from the crowded tenements that surround the mills. Nowhere are larger Indian crowds to be found; nowhere are they more independent or less disposed to accord lip service under any circumstances whatever.

It was here in wide open country sheltered by a semi-circle of sentinel hills, that the Prince first got away from official surroundings, and found himself in simple human relationship with the people he had travelled so far to see. He walked unattended into the heart of the crowd, and had an experience often subsequently repeated in more or less varied form in other Indian centres he visited, but one which none of his wide travels in other parts of the British Empire had previously brought to him. On all sides the people bowed low in grave *salaams*. On all sides hands were stretched out. The air resounded with clapping, and with shrill cries of "*Jubray kē jai*" (Victory to the King's son").

Again when he had left the gilded chair of state on the red carpet of authority, at the Shivaji memorial ceremony, occurred another entirely Eastern display of respect. Men pressed in from every side, and when they got near, touched their foreheads with straightened fingers in silent *poorah* (reverence) to the seat he had occupied. Their

imaginations had been caught by the bearing and attitude of the Prince. They found themselves attracted by him personally. They wished to show him honour.

It was not only amongst agricultural, trading, and other non military classes that the Prince had these experiences. He was, if possible, even more popular with Indian soldiers, with whom he made a special point of getting into touch. Speaking at Bombay at the outset of his tour he referred to the thousands of Indian soldiers who had gone to fight the battles of the Empire in the great war. He often asked after those who had returned, and, wherever possible, he shook hands with them, or, in Indian fashion, touched their proffered sword-hilts with his fingers. He also visited when this could be arranged, those of them who were still in hospital in any place he might be at. He wanted them to feel that they were not forgotten—that the Empire for which he stands, would always remember what they had done.

From Bombay his journey took him into the feudatory states. At Udaipur, that mountain-city reflected in the crystal lake, he was afforded a notable example of the old world courtliness of Rajasthan. The Maharajah premier of the great feudatory chiefs, was old and bed-ridden. Yet, feeble as he was, he insisted upon being got up and put into his formal durbar robes and carried across the city to welcome his royal guest himself. In Gwalior, Bhopal, Bikanir, Jodhpur, and Baroda—jewelled names—the Prince saw something besides of the administration of well run feudatory territories. He was shown the last word alike in military training and in schools and sports. Here also he found the storied past personified in living bodyguards of mail-clad warriors and fighting elephants caparisoned to-day as they may have been in the chronicles of the Mahabharata.

From Rajputana the Prince went to one British province after another. He visited the marble palaces of Imperial Delhi, and saw the newly-formed legislative bodies—

parliaments of a future in which India will take her place with the self governing Dominions of the Empire. He motored through the dark defiles of the Khyber Pass, and rode along desolate frontier marches, where the army of India is ever on guard against transborder raiders, and where civilization ends with the last British post. In Bombay he had seen cotton-mills and hydro-electric installations owned and run by Indians. In Calcutta, in Cawnpore and in Assam he made acquaintance with other industries in which hundreds of thousands of Indians are employed. At Hyderabad he stood within the ancient stronghold of Tippoo Saheb. In Nepal he shaded his eyes in the dazzling glare of the snows of the highest mountains in the world. He shot tigers in the Terai, and rode after pig in the plains of the Punjab. In Rangoon he mingled with silk garmented crowds beneath the gilded spire of the Shwedagon pagoda. In Mandalay he heard the many voices of the temple bells, and was welcomed by the yellow robed of every degree of sanctity from simple *poongyi* to papal *Thathanabarn*.

In the course of his journeyings he saw in operation the whole wonderful machine of the administration of the country, from the village *chowkidar*—watchman—at the bottom to his father's viceroy at the top. He sat in high courts of justice, that for dignity, acumen, and fair-mindedness set an example to the world. He was shown universities and colleges that can hold up their heads amongst corresponding institutions anywhere. He saw that keystone of the governmental structure, the British district officer, dispensing justice beneath the peepul tree and collecting the revenues of the state. Above all the Prince came into personal touch with the Indian people. He went about amongst them, not as an official or as a ruler, but as a comrade and friend. He shared in their pleasures. He took a hand in their occupations. He endeavoured to understand their difficulties, and to realize their point of view.

The message given to India by the King Emperor, when he visited that country sixteen years ago, was one of hope. Times have changed since then, and the hope which His Majesty spoke of is now in fair way to fulfilment. India has acquired new status and new responsibilities. She has advanced some way towards the ideal of equality with the other nations of the Empire. The mission of the Prince was to hold out the hand of friendship to her, in her latest incarnation as a rising member of the British family of self governing states which owe equal fealty to the Royal House. He went, in the words of the King, "to ripen goodwill into yet fuller understanding," and that he has surpassingly done. At a time of unrest and political uncertainty he has travelled, serene in his confidence in the loyalty of the people, to all parts of the country. He has pitted his personal charm, frank courtesy, good fellowship, and affection against the armed forces of disorder. He has won his way to an extent that seemed entirely impossible at the start. There remains behind him an impression that will endure. After this visit, so courageously undertaken and so meticulously carried through, nothing in the hearts and minds of India can be quite as before. His opportunity has been the greater because, unlike most other visitors to India, he has had no axe of his own to grind. He has been the Imperial symbol towards whom every Indian, whatever his political views and aspirations, could make the gesture of amity with self-respect. The East values courage and steadfastness, and responds warm-heartedly to proffered affection. The Prince will be remembered as no fair weather friend, but as one who was the more and not the less anxious to be with the people of India, because they were undergoing a period of trouble and of stress. He has won many friends. He has established touch with the country. He has acquired knowledge of her problems and her needs, which will be of service to the Empire not only now but in the years that are to come, when it falls to him, as soon or late,

in the course of nature, fall it should, to inherit the British Crown

The visit has also been valuable to India. It has helped to break down the isolation in which her remoteness has placed her. It has removed much mistrust and doubt. It has turned the eyes of the Empire upon her. It has brought her circumstances, her aspirations, and her achievements prominently to the attention of the Anglo-Saxon nations. It has stirred feelings of loyalty and devotion to a common ideal, feelings which lie as deep in the hearts of the East as in those of the West. It has helped India to feel her solidarity with the people of England. It has brought her a friend who is also her future King.

THE NEAR EASTERN SETTLEMENT ATTITUDE OF MUSLIM INDIA

BY SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, A C I E., C S I L L D

THE failure of the clandestine schemes to set up an Arab Khalif pliant to the will of Christendom, the fall of M Venizelos to whose designs the complications in the Near Eastern situation are largely due, the triumphant return of the pro German King of Greece from his enforced exile despite the vehement protests of Great Britain the heroic struggle of the resourceless Turkish nationalists in the defence of their homelands and their right to national freedom, and the outraged feeling of the Muslim world have opened the eyes of the British nation to the trend of the forces which must be taken into account in bringing about an equitable settlement in the Near and Middle East

The recent manifesto of the Viceroy of India, issued after prolonged deliberation and consultation with all the Provincial Governments, has evidently disconcerted the British Foreign Office, which is generally believed to have set its mind upon the success of its pro-Greek policy designed unjustly to aggrandize Greece at the expense of Turkey The Phil-Hellenes and the Phil-Armenians see only the injustice of acquiescing in Ottoman rule over Christian *minorities* and insist either upon their complete severance from the Turkish Empire or upon protected minority zones At the same time their efforts are directed towards placing Muslim *majorities* under Christian rule, in spite of the passionate and pathetic protests of the latter This myopic view of what should be conceded to Christian *minorities* and withheld from Muslim *majorities* has outraged the moral sense of all justice-loving men who are not blinded by racial or religious prejudices.

The advocates of privileged minority zones decline to recognize that such enclaves must result in perpetual friction and hostility between neighbouring communities, and cannot be expected to evoke that spirit of a common patriotism which is essential to national safety and prosperity. Christian, Hebrew, and other minorities have lived side by side with Muhammadan majorities under Muslim rule in amity and mutual goodwill when their friendliness has not been disturbed by foreign interference. The Copts of Egypt and the Orthodox Jews of Palestine furnish apt instances. The common patriotism of the Copts and Muslim Egyptians has resulted in a national solidarity which has secured the independence of their country with a Muslim sovereign and a Copt as his prime minister.

In regard to the treatment of minorities and the right of majorities to a constitution based on the consent of the governed, the Muslim demand is in complete accord with the moral standards which Christendom seeks to reserve for Christian communities only. The denial of precisely the same right to the Muslims has naturally aroused their bitter resentment, and accounts for the wave of just indignation which is now sweeping over the world of Islam.

To have a clear conception of what is regarded as the "betrayal of Islam" by Great Britain, 'the greatest Muhammadan Power in the world' with more Muslim than Christian subjects notwithstanding the more favourable attitude towards Islam of France and Italy, it is necessary to take a retrospect of the various stages which have now culminated in the intensity of feeling to which the Viceroy of India refers in his manifesto. At the outset of the war with Turkey, Lord Hardinge was authorized to issue in the name of the British nation a proclamation declaring that the war was purely secular and that there would be no interference whatever with the Holy Places of Islam. At the same time a vigorous and extensive propaganda was started by the Allied Powers in all Muslim countries to persuade the Muhammadan races to side with the Allies. Special

emphasis was laid on the non religious character of the war and on the vindication of the right of peoples, whether Muslim or Christian, to self determination

After these declarations came the famous pledge of the Prime Minister in January, 1918, that "the rich and renowned" homelands of the Turks in Anatolia and Thrace which he emphatically declared were "predominantly Turkish in race," with Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, would remain under Turkish sovereignty. He made it quite clear that this pledge was given on behalf of the British nation, with the concurrence of France and Italy. The pledge was reaffirmed with greater emphasis in February, 1920, in a memorable speech, in the course of which he said

"Without their (Indian Muslims) aid we should not have conquered Turkey at all. Were we to have broken faith with them in the hour of victory? We might go to them and say 'The circumstances have changed' but I will tell you what they might have said. Whenever the British word was given again in the East they would have said 'Yes, you mean to keep faith, but you will always, somehow or other, find an unanswerable reason when the time comes for breaking it. There is nothing which would damage British power in Asia more than the feeling that you could not trust the British word

"In the hour of victory," achieved mainly with Muslim aid, the non-religious character of the war was forgotten. The British Prime Minister described the attack on Palestine as the last and the greatest of the "Crusades, and pictures of the twentieth-century Crusaders clad in chain armour appeared in British magazines. The overwhelming majority of the Arabs of Palestine were placed against their will under a non Muslim yoke.

The promise of non interference with the Holy Places of Islam was set aside by the complete removal of the Khalif's wardenship, which, as Mr. Ameer Ali has pointed out, is

essential under "the Muslim ecclesiastical law for the valid performance of the rites associated with the Haj'

The Prime Minister's prediction as to finding an "unanswerable reason" for "breaking the British word" was literally fulfilled when M Venizelos was allowed to take an effective part in framing the iniquitous provisions of the Treaty of Sèvres, and invited to take possession of the 'rich and renowned' lands of the Turks in Asia Minor and Thrace specifically covered by the British pledge. Only the Greeks were allowed to manipulate the statistics of population, in spite of the authoritative assertions to the contrary of even British officials and the reasonable Muslim demand that in disputed cases an impartial inquiry should be held or a plebiscite taken to ascertain the wishes of the people concerned as to their political destiny was ignored. The report of a Commission which exposed the atrocities committed by the Greeks was suppressed by the British Foreign Office whereas no opportunity was missed to give the widest publicity to all allegations against the Turks.

In view of these facts, which have never been challenged, is it surprising that the late Secretary of State for India characterized the pro-Greek policy of the Prime Minister as *calamitous*, and that the Viceroy of India has come to the conclusion that the Muslim claims are "just and equitable

In his manifesto the Viceroy "particularly" urges three main points which the British Cabinet has already prejudged as extravagant before the Paris Conference has had an opportunity of discussing them with an unbiassed mind. The Muslim claims, however, have a wider range within the limits of the declarations of the Allies and may briefly be summarized as under

- 1 The restoration of Asia Minor to Turkish sovereignty
- 2 The restoration of the whole of Thrace to Ottoman rule, unless an uninfluenced plebiscite shows that the majority of the population prefer some other form of government.

3 The evacuation of Constantinople, unfettered by any conditions calculated to render the military and naval defence of the capital of the Ottoman Empire ineffective against hostile aggression

4 The recognition and restoration of the Khalif's wardenship of the Holy Places of Islam

5 The recognition of the right of the Muslim majorities in those regions which were under Ottoman sovereignty before the war to self-determination or such form of government as they may choose

The Muslim view is that these demands do not go beyond the obvious implications of the British word or exceed what is considered just and equitable in the case of Christian races. As the Viceroy has pointed out, the Muslim cause has received the support of all Indians. The allegation that the Muslims of India are 'dictating' to the British Government any policy is unwarranted. In the words of Mr Montagu, as "Turkey was beaten in the main by Indian soldiers, India is entitled to a predominant voice" in the consideration of the Muslim demands which affect only the dismembered territories of the Ottoman Empire inhabited by Muhammadan races, and not any questions involving the higher interests of the British Empire

THE EMPIRE OF ANNAM AND FRANCE

BY ROGER DE BELLEVAL

(Translated by Louis Landré)

INDO CHINA is unquestionably the most precious gem of the French Colonial Empire. The variety and importance of its resources, which have not been as yet entirely turned to account, its situation in the centre of the peoples of the Far East, Australasia, and India, its proximity to the large market of China on which so many other nations are casting envious eyes, the great density of its population, are sure warrants of its future prosperity, and make of French Indo-China one of the potential elements in the economic recovery of France.

Now if we study its central and provincial administration, we notice that France has respected, whenever she could, the authority of its sovereign and mandarins.

The mandarins, who are all recruited by competitive examinations according to the old democratic traditions of the Far East, are at the head of the districts and counties. The mandarins have also been kept in the provinces, where they give advice to the French Resident whenever he takes a decision.

Next to the Emperor are his four ministers, who are called in a picturesque way the 'Four Pillars of the Empire'; they have a very great authority, and their meetings presided over by the Emperor, bear the name of Comat, or Secret Council, it is here that the important affairs of the Empire are discussed. The Emperor of Annam has more than a nominal authority and really governs his Empire, he is more independent than the protected sovereigns of India, and the creation by M. Long of a Consultative Chamber of Natives in 1920 will only contribute to strengthen his authority.

The environment in which the Emperor lives is the same as that of the last century, the court of Annam is perhaps the only court in the world where traditions have been kept in their purest form. The Emperor's palace is situated in the citadel of Hué. This citadel, built by French engineers in Vanhan's style, commands the town with its high walls and gives an impression of majesty and sobriety. It covers a considerable area on which is built the Emperor's palace, which overlooks the houses of the ministers, the regents, the mandarins, the pagodas, the offices, the workshops, the gardens.

The palace, surrounded by ditches, gives from outside the impression of a small Asiatic citadel. In order to see the Emperor, one has to cross a great dark room supported by wooden pillars, which leads to the throne room. Very distinguished visitors, such as the Governor-General, Residents Superior or Ambassadors are received with an extraordinary pomp. On the threshold of the throne-room stands the Emperor surrounded by his ministers. On the left, a retinue of cultivated mandarins in splendid costumes of ceremony, on the right near the gardens are military mandarins with the gigantic Imperial elephants in full war equipment: their tusks adorned with gold rings, their feet with gold bracelets, their backs covered by silk carpets with golden fringes. In the midst of the high dignitaries with their splendid robes—green, violet, blue or red—the Emperor wears the antique stiff headgear of the Annam mandarins, which falls over the eyes and ends in a point very high top boots, and a long yellow Imperial mantle spangled with gold and made tight at the waist by a belt of precious stones. The sight is among the most beautiful imaginable, and gives the impression of a very old Empire which desires to keep intact its traditions and solemnity. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the Emperor leads an effeminate life in the luxurious idleness of his palace. The present Emperor, H M Khai Dinh, is one of the hardest working Emperors ever known in Annam,

Son of Dong Khanh, he ascended the throne only in 1916. At that time the Emperor, Duy-Thân, incited by Germanophil agents, tried to rouse Annam against France. But, abandoned by his people, he was compelled to join at Réunion his father Thanh Thai, whose acts of cruelty are still remembered by the natives.

H M Khai-Dinh, born in 1881, then came into power the moment was critical, and it must be acknowledged that the new Emperor adopted from the very first day a perfectly loyal attitude towards France and that he collaborated with her in the most open-hearted way. H M Khai-Dinh is a modern Emperor, although he has retained in his court the antique pomp of his predecessors. He is extremely active, and makes a point of receiving personally all the office holders—whatever be their rank—who ask for an audience. His receptions often last a whole morning. He loves letters, is very keenly interested in public instruction, and visits the schools established in the citadel.

He is also fond of sport, in his gardens green lawns have been converted into tennis courts and football grounds, and the Emperor very often comes to watch the games. He himself is a sportsman, and is more especially interested in hunting and motor-driving. He is often seen driving his own magnificent limousine, as he likes to do on the admirable roads established by the protectorate (those roads which excited the astonishment of Lord Northcliffe), among the poetical scenes for which the surroundings of Hue are so justly famous. H M Khai Dinh will attend the Colonial Exhibition of Marseilles which is to be opened on April 16. The aim of this exhibition is to advertise in France and in the world the invaluable riches of the French colonies which are still insufficiently developed. Indo China more especially is making a very great effort, she has built at Marseilles a reproduction of the central group of Angkor-Vat, the wonder of the Khmer architecture, the towers of which have reached a height of

about two hundred and thirty feet the expenses for Indo-China alone will be about thirty million francs

The Emperor, comprehending the great interest of this manifestation for the economical development of his country, has decided to honour it by his presence. Moreover, he is very desirous of visiting the battlefields where five thousand Annamites are sleeping their last sleep. He will be accompanied in his journey by the Resident Superior in Annam, M. Pasquier, two of his ministers perhaps one of the Empresses, and by the Heir Apparent. The Prince Royal will remain in France and stay in a lycée in order to attend a course of European studies. This is the most magnificent mark of confidence which may be given to a protecting nation by a sovereign living in the midst of an antique splendour and secular traditions

The *indefectible loyalty of the Annamites and the political quietness which reigns in Indo-China*, the confidence of the natives, who have just subscribed with enthusiasm to the local loan issued last month, are a source of general gratification. For twenty million Indo-Chinese there is not at the present moment any other unity than that created by the French administration, the inhabitants of Cambodia, Laos, Annam belong to different races and religions, besides, religions do not develop the same fanaticism as in India, and are far from having the same strict code. The Mussulmans, a cause of discord in all countries, are not very numerous. Indo-China is isolated from continental influences especially from Bolshevik propaganda. Putting aside all idea of comparison with English colonization in India, one must recognize that France has been very successful in Indo-China. "France in Indo-China," says Lord Northcliffe, seems to be receiving the benefit of three hundred years' colonial experience. The Frenchman of the Far East has been able to discover and touch the heart of the native. He colonizes tactfully, and follows the policy of friendship. But is not the policy of friendship the very policy which is followed by England?

In his famous speech at Birmingham in 1903 Mr Chamberlain said that the link by which the English colonies were to be bound in the future to Great Britain would be the "quasi feudal, very thin but powerful link of faithfulness and loyalty which unites colonies to the metropolis. The strength of this link shows itself in Indo-China, it is 'the French Miracle in Asia,' a title given by a Frenchman, M. Regismanset, to his excellent work recently published on Indo-China.

We hope that the few facts we have just placed before our readers will help them to understand a little more easily this "miracle. We have tried to explain the success of French colonization in Indo-China by the policy followed in this country and more especially by the specific qualities of the race, the soul of France.

PEACE IN THE EAST

BY SIR GRAHAM BOWER, K.C.M.G.

IT is not too much to say that the peace of Asia, the integrity of the British Empire, and the lives of millions of people, are now hanging in the balance. To men of the older generation—men who have seen and appreciated the position once held by England in the Near East and throughout Asia—the position gives grounds for sorrow and anxiety. Sorrow for mistakes made, anxiety lest a mistaken policy should be continued and lead to the inevitable disaster to the Empire and humanity. The East begins at the Adriatic, and between the Adriatic and the Black Sea we find peoples who have inherited all the hatreds and many of the faults of two distinct civilizations. But there was a time when the influence of England was all powerful for peace and good-will from the Adriatic to China, when the word of an Englishman was accepted as his bond and when the name of England was synonymous with truth, justice, and fair-dealing as between race and race, religion and religion.

The prestige of England in the East never stood higher than immediately after the Crimean War. England had championed the cause of the Khalif and the fact was known in every bazaar from the Mediterranean to the Pacific. Then came the greased cartridges and the Indian Mutiny. The story is an old one now, but it has been forgotten that the story of the greased cartridges was true.

The tragedy of the Mutiny is a warning against the awful consequences of want of sympathy and want of understanding. We must not issue any more greased cartridges either political or religious. At every step we

must consider the possible effect on racial and religious feeling

Until the Mutiny India was administered by the East India Company in the name of the last survivor of the Mogul Empire. Coins were struck in his name and forms were observed. Forms count for much in the East.

In 1859 the Queen of England took over the direct government of India, and the Mogul Empire vanished in India as had the Holy Roman Empire in Europe. But this was ostensibly the substitution of a Christian for a Muslim sovereign and the question of the religious consequences of the change at once presented itself to devout Muslims. Did the change convert India from *Dar ul Islam* a country of peace, to *Dar ul Harb*, a country of war? To explain the meaning of these two phrases I cannot do better than quote Sir Edward Creasy's admirable definition as given in his *History of the Ottoman Turks*. He says: "The Koran teaches indeed that war is in itself an evil and pronounces that Man is the work of God. Cursed be he who dares to destroy God's workmanship, but it teaches also that when there is a war between the true believers and the enemies of Islam it is the duty of every Mussulman to devote to such war his property, his person, and his life. The Koran divides the world into two portions: the house of Islam, *Dar ul Islam*, and the house of war, *Dar ul Harb*. The craving of the Muhammadans as such for Christian blood is purely a myth. Their Prophet was certainly a stern iconoclast, and taught the duty of unremitting warfare against idolaters. In the Koran he bids his disciples fight on till there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion becomes God's alone. But the Prophet also taught them with regard to Jews and Christians: Dispute not except with gentleness, but say unto them, we believe in the revelation which has been sent down to us, and also in that which has been sent down to you, and our God and your God are one."

That is so. Under the Byzantine Empire Christian

refugees from sectarian persecution sought refuge and protection from the Muslims and received it. Moreover after the conquest of Constantinople, Mahomet the Second granted special privileges to the Greek Christians, and conferred both political and judicial powers on the Greek Patriarch who became an *imperium in imperio*, having jurisdiction in marriage, divorce, and inheritance. It is the absolute truth that no man has ever been persecuted by Muslims on account of his religion.

But amongst Muslims, especially amongst the Wahabees (the Muslim Puritans), there was doubt about the religious status of India created by the change of sovereignty, and the question was referred to three of the most learned of the law doctors of Mecca. They gave separate answers but identical in substance. Space permits me to quote only one of these answers. "All praises are due to the Almighty who is the Lord of all creation. Oh Almighty increase my knowledge. As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islam prevail in it, it is Dar ul Islam. The Almighty is omniscient, pure, and high. This is the order passed by one who hopes for the secret favour of the Almighty, who praises God and prays for blessing and peace on his prophet. Signed Jamal Ibn I Abdullah Shaik Umar ul Hanafi the Mufti of Mecca, the honoured. May God favour him and his father.

The three opinions were considered by the Indian Muslims, and the following resolution was adopted by the Calcutta Muhammadan Society in 1870. "The second question is whether it is lawful in this country to make Jihad or not. This has been solved together with the first. For Jihad can by no means be lawfully made in Dar ul Islam. This is so evident that it requires no argument or authority to support it. Now, if any misguided wretch, owing to his perverse fortune, were to wage war against the ruling powers of this country, British India, such war would be rightly pronounced rebellion, and rebellion is strictly forbidden by the Muhammadan law. Therefore,

such war will likewise be unlawful, and in case anyone would wage such war Muhammadan subjects would be bound to assist their rulers, and in conjunction with their rulers to fight such rebels. The above has been clearly laid down in the *Fatawa Alamjiri* '.

In support of this resolution the venerable Shaik Amad Effendi Anasri, a descendant of one of the companions of the Prophet, said "He was in a position to support and verify all that had been said by the several speakers with reference to the particular subject before the meeting, especially the statement of the Secretary as to the friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of England and His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey. In truth there was a closer intimacy between the British nation and the Sultan than between the Sultan and any other nation in the world '.

The Indian Muslims on the faith of the position of the English as the friends and protectors of Islam and its Khalif have given their property their persons, and their lives in the service of the Queen Empress or the King Emperor. Thousands have died for England's cause.

And they were justified—up to the Berlin Congress of 1878. England was the friend of Islam. It was only after the Berlin Congress that Lord Salisbury discovered, or thought he had discovered, that he had been backing the wrong horse. He shifted his money to Russia. He sacrificed the unique position of England in Asia in the hope of gaining Russian friendship. Where is Russia to-day? and what would Lord Salisbury say to the horse for which he sacrificed the devoted loyalty of 70,000,000 of our Indian fellow-subjects.

The Cyprus Convention had in substance conceded a British protectorate of Asia Minor, and it would have been open to the English Government to 'Egyptianize' Asia Minor with British officers and a disciplined gendarmerie. But Lord Salisbury for some reason had decided to abandon the position of the friend of Islam for the friendship of the enemies of Islam, and not only of Islam, but of

peace, order and good government in the East For it is of no use to shirk the truth. Our new friend did not wish for peace in the Balkans, or in Asia Minor, or in any part of the Turkish Empire From the point of view of St Petersburg Turkey was a sick man, and Russia was the heir of the sick man Doctors were not wanted, remedial measures were not wanted, on the contrary all that would increase the sickness and hasten the demise of the sick man was to be encouraged It was not a noble policy it was not a humane policy

As early as 1867, Lord Strangford, an unimpeachable witness, wrote as follows "Some three weeks ago we undertook to bring clearly before our readers the exact method by which spurious insurrections were hatched and forced into existence in Turkey with the deliberate object of establishing a sufficient show of anarchy, bloodshed, and massacres calculated to precipitate a diplomatic or an armed intervention on the part of the greater powers of Europe for the purpose of numbing and paralyzing all Turkish Government That was being done by a band of brigands, recruited subsidized, organized, and directed from without principally by a committee at Bucharest "

Lord Strangford's evidence is the same as that of Consul Calvert, when he wrote on the Bulgarian atrocities And it was not merely from Roumania that revolt and brigandage was organized. Russians, Greeks, Roumanians and ultimately Bulgarians and Serbians, took a hand in the game. We know something of the work of American agitators in Ireland But in the case of Turkey there were five powers fomenting revolution and brigandage and murder in Macedonia, in Armenia, and Bulgaria And the agitators were successful Religious fanaticism, ecclesiastical hatred, humanitarian impulses, political jealousies national ambitions—all these were enlisted on the side of revolt, bloodshed, and civil war The horrors of the Balkan wars have been told by the Commission appointed by the Carnegie Endowment, and they go beyond the

possibility of reproduction The following extract must suffice "Wherever the peasants ventured to await the arrival of the Greek troops in their villages they had the same experience The village was sacked and the women were violated, before it was burned, and non-combatants were wantonly butchered" (p 102)

Turkey deserted by England attacked by Italy, by Greece, by Bulgaria and by Serbia turned to Germany for protection, and her protector tricked her into war with England

That the Turks were clean fighters—the cleanest of them all, is the universal testimony of British officers, and when they surrendered they were willing to submit to British tutelage, but naturally enough showed the strongest aversion to Greek ambitions, Greek methods—or Greek interference The Allied victory had been won by England with the assistance of Indian soldiers India had sent a million and a quarter of men to the war and was entitled to a voice in the settlement We know what that voice was It is calling to us now

On January 5, 1918, Mr Lloyd George expressed himself as follows

' Nor are we fighting to deprive Turkey of her capital nor of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace which are predominantly Turkish in race

We do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish people, with the capital Constantinople "

Every one of these pledges was repudiated in the Treaty of Sèvres

The Greek Army was landed at Smyrna under the protection of the British fleet "Loans' were granted to the Greek Government The Greeks on landing simply ran amok and it is estimated that about 700 innocent Muslims were murdered

The following extract from the *Revue Internationale de*

la Croix Rouge will give some indication of the subsequent proceedings of the Greek Army

"The Mission has come to the conclusion that the elements of the Greek army of occupation had carried on since two months the extermination of the Mussulman population of the Peninsula. The particulars that were established—burning of villages, massacres of the inhabitants, coincidences in the evidence regarding the places and dates—all leave no doubt on the point.' (Translated.)

A high ecclesiastic stated to the Red Cross Commissioner that "the Greek Army has been much too lenient in its repression I, who am not a military man, but an ecclesiastic, would have liked the absolute extermination of the Turks without leaving a single survivor Is it any wonder that the Turks in their despair have sought support from Russian Bolsheviks? or that we have lost the trust and loyalty of Indian Muslims? Can we save our honour and recover the lost trust? Yes, we can But only by the loyal fulfilment of every promise made by the Prime Minister of England as quoted above By the loyal fulfilment of our promises to the Arabs and by the resumption of our position as the friends of Islam, the religion of about 80,000,000 British subjects and of about 240,000,000 of the followers of Mahomet scattered over the world Peace is the reward of good will and toleration War is the fruit of race hatred and religious intolerance.

The key to the position is the attitude towards Islam taken up by England It effects India, Palestine, Egypt, and Persia It even effects China If the conservative force of religion is enlisted on the side of England she has nothing to fear For in the East it is only religion that counts The key to India is in the Khalifat, the key to Egypt in the Mosque of El Azhar The key to peace is loyalty and justice to all To Muslim as well as Christian, to Gentile as well as to Jew So will England bring peace to the East and gain in exchange loyalty to herself

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CASTES AND CUSTOMS IN MALABAR

By H E A COTTON, C I E

THE "delectable coast of Malabar" as Sir George Birdwood has termed it, stretches for 150 miles on the west of the Indian peninsula along the Arabian Sea. It extends in common parlance from Kanara on the north to Cape Comorin on the south but strictly speaking it ends a little beyond the State of Cochin, and includes barely the northern fringe of Travancore. On the east it is shut off from the rest of India by the mountain barrier of the Western Ghats, which is interrupted only at the Palghat gap, sixteen miles wide. Alike in the picturesqueness of the scenery and in the wealth of its historical associations, this district of 2,000 square miles exercises a fascination which is peculiarly its own. The Ghats are thickly clothed with vegetation in most parts and abound in pictures of unrivalled beauty. From the main range long wooded spurs with deep ravines jut out, and are succeeded by gentler slopes covered with low jungle and by bare downs, with gradually widening valleys of luxuriant cultivation. Nearer the coast the laterite downs merge suddenly into rice plains and lagoons fringed with cocoa palms. Skirting the sea is a level strip seldom more than two or three miles in extent. The green of the palms and the jack-trees, the red of the laterite roads, the white of the sands and the sea-foam and the background of the blue ocean, offer a combination of colour which it would be hard to surpass. Although the country is thickly populated, there is no crowding of human habitations. As long ago as the fourteenth century Ibn Batuta noted that "everyone has his garden and his house planted in the middle of it." Each hut stands in its own compound surrounded by a stout thorn fence, and full of giant broad-leaved plantains and the many coloured flowers

of the hibiscus. The tanks display a profusion of water hyacinths, known, less politely, as "blue devils," because in the backwaters they can, and do, obstruct even the passage of a steamer. The rice can be seen growing in terraces, and avenues of spreading banyans protect the wayfarer from the scorching sun, for there are no extremes of heat and cold in Malabar, the average temperature ranging from 91 degrees to 70 degrees. On the other hand, the rainfall is heavy and unfailling. The people all carry tarred umbrellas, grass grows on the housetops and the pandals of the shops, and the walls are green with mould. It is the one flaw that mars the vision of an earthly paradise.

The district of Malabar under British administration is divided into ten taluks. These, commencing from the north, are Chirakkal, Kóttayam, Wynaad, Kurumbranad, Calicut, Ernad, Ponnáni, Walluvanad, Palghat, and, finally, British Cochin. The principal towns are Cannanore, in Chirakkal, Tellicherry, in Kóttayam, Manantoddy, on the Wynaad plateau, Quilandi, in Kurumbranad (once a flourishing port), Calicut, the district headquarters, Malappuram and Tirurangadi in Ernad, and Ponnáni, the principal Mohammedan or Moplah centres, Perintalmanna, in Walluvanad, another Moplah stronghold, Palghat, the avenue of communication with Coimbatore and the Tamil country beyond, and Cochin. Lastly, Anjengo (which since 1906 has been a separate district under the control of the Resident at Travancore) demands her place in the list as the birthplace of Robert Orme and Sterne's "Eliza." South of the British district lie the States of Cochin and Travancore, which are technically outside Malabar, but which, in point of fact, are identical in population and language and customs. The prevailing form of speech is Malayálam, which is said by experts to be closely akin to Tamil, and is certainly Dravidian in origin. At the same time, as the late Dr. Burnell has noted, there is perhaps no part of India where Sanskrit literature was more studied by people of many castes during the eighteenth century, and many Sanskrit words are to be found in colloquial use,

while the Malayalam poetic diction has been described as "pure Sanskrit, connected or concluded with a few Malayalam words

Owing to its geographical situation, Malabar has been from time immemorial an emporium of trade with the West. There are those who daringly identify Beypore, a decaying port about six miles distant from Calicut railway station, with the Ophir from which King Solomon obtained his gold. Certain it is that he could have procured from Malabar the ivory apes and peacocks which the navy of Tharshish brought to him once in three years. Pliny the Elder discusses the various routes to the west coast of India, and Ptolemy describes more or less correctly the geography of South India. Arab traders were constant visitors from the earliest times, the great mercantile centre being Cranganore, now a small village in the vicinity of the British town of Cochin and celebrated only for its cock festival. Passing over the centuries, we come to Marco Polo, who touched in 1292-93 at the bold bluff eminence of Mount Deli, a few miles north of Cannanore and has left a description of the surrounding country under the name of the kingdom of Eli. The same Mount Deli was the first landfall made in 1498 by Vasco da Gama and his four weather-beaten vessels, after a voyage of ten months and two days from Lisbon which is immortalized in the "Lusiad" of Camoens. But it was at Calicut that the actual contact with Indian soil was first made on May 11 1498, and it was at Cochin where the Portuguese eventually settled that Vasco da Gama died on Christmas Day, 1524. In 1615 a small English factory was established at Cranganore by Captain Keeling but it was not sympathetically received, and it was not until 1667 that trade began to be carried on steadily there and at Ponnani, further to the north. The immediate successors to the Portuguese, however, were the Dutch, whose commercial reign lasted from 1663 until 1721.

The temptation is great to continue the history of

European associations with Malabar The vicissitudes of the English factors at Tellicherry and Anjengo and of the French at Mahé the doings of the pirates who once infested the coast from Mangalore to Cape Comorin,¹ the invasions of Haidar Ali and Tippoo Sultan, the rebellion of the Pychy Raja, which lasted from 1800 until 1805—a volume might be written upon these and many other incidents of the past. But that is not the purpose of this paper, which is to attempt some description of the people and of their unusual social organizations and their complicated customs and observances There is no portion of India which offers so rich a quarry to the investigator And yet the globe trotter does not set foot in Malabar Murray's 'Guide to India' gives him no clue to the treasures which lie just below the surface, nor is he likely to obtain much assistance elsewhere of the type which is calculated to appeal to him Singularly little of a popular character has been written about the Malayális. Pierre Loti has devoted a quarter of "L'Inde sans les Anglais" to them, and there are the articles which Sir John Rees has still to be persuaded to assemble from their scattered no-mes in the *Fortnightly* and the *Nineteenth Century* Mr Henry Bruce's "Letters from Malabar," and Francis Days "Land of the Perumals," deal exclusively with the States of Travancore and Cochin, and the former touches the mere fringe of the subject, while Mr K M Panikkar's excellent essay on "Some Aspects of Náyar Life" is not easily accessible in its present loca-

¹ This was (not unnaturally) the aspect which attracted R. L. Stevenson The mention of Malabar sets him thinking of a storm-bound coast 'with a ship beating to windward and a scowling figure of Herculean proportions striding along the beach (he, to be sure, was a pirate)' As a matter of fact, the port of Calicut was ravaged in 1695 by Captain Kidd Of the doings of this freebooter in the Indian seas, and of some of his fellow rascals—Hindus, Mohammedans, Portuguese, and half castes—Mr S C Hill gives some interesting details in his "Episodes of Piracy in the Eastern Seas 1519 to 1851" (*Indian Antiquary*, vols XLVIII and XLIX, 1919 and 1920) See also "The Pirates of Malabar, by Colonel John Biddulph (London, 1907)

tion in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* for 1919. The book on Malabar has still to be written. There are many men who could write such a book, but while they are in Malabar they are too busy, and when they depart they appear to carry away with them that strange forgetfulness which goes by the name of "Malabar head." Fortunately, there is no lack of official literature, and in quality this is altogether admirable. Nothing could be better than Mr Logan's monumental Manual or the 'Malabar Gazetteer' which is largely founded upon his labours or Mr J A Thorne's notes to the second volume of "The Book of Duarte Barbosa, published last year by the Hakluyt Society. An enormous mass of information is also contained in Thurston's 'Castes and Tribes of Southern India.' Of each and all of these the freest use has been made.

By far the majority of the inhabitants are Hindus by religion. The primal race distinctions can readily be traced in the broad divisions of Brahman, Náyar, Tíyan, artizans, and the supposed aboriginal tribes. Of Brahmans there are three main classes, but of these the Pattars and the Embrándiris, though domiciled since prehistoric times in Malabar, are regarded as inferiors and foreigners. The Pattars, who have their headquarters at Palghat exhibit no peculiarities distinguishing them from the ordinary East Coast Brahmans, and engage like them in trade and commerce, besides forming a large proportion of the official, legal, and scholastic classes. The Embrándiris, who are of Kanarese or Tulu origin, are almost entirely absorbed in priestly occupations, and are stated to be extremely backward as a community. The real Malabar Brahman is the Nambudri, and if any race can properly be described as the lords of creation, it is his. He is, in the words of Mr Thurston the truest Aryan in Southern India. Not content with spiritual ascendancy of the most absolute kind, the Nambudris claim to be the divinely appointed proprietors of the soil of Malabar, and as a

matter of fact do own most of the land, being known as *jannis*. They are extraordinarily exclusive and conservative, and have as a class kept themselves aloof from Western education and Western influences. The touch of all castes below them conveys pollution, and even the approach (at varying distances) of all castes lower than Náyars. A man of low caste is supposed to uncover to the waist as a mark of respect when approaching within the prescribed distance of a Nambudri, and to use special terms of depreciation when speaking of any property belonging to himself. There are various sub-divisions among the Nambudris, of which the first is usually said to be the Tamburákkals, but this is, more properly, a title. Only one family now remains with this appellation—that of the Azhuvanchéri Tamburákkal of Athavanád in Ponnánil taluk. Such is the sanctity attaching to this dignitary that it is incumbent upon the Maharájá of Travancore to invite him once in six years to visit his Court and there to do obeisance to him by touching the ground with six parts of his body. Francis Buchanan Hamilton, in his record of a "Journey through Malabar" in 1800, mentions an interview which he procured with some difficulty with the "Alvangeri Tamburacul" of his day. The great man, he writes, 'having been seated on a chair which he took care to be higher than mine, I soon discovered that he was an idiot, who grinned with a feeble laugh when the most serious questions were proposed to him.' Properly speaking, the Tamburákkal is only the first of the Adhyans who form the highest class among Nambudris and are known as Nambudripáds. The Nambudripád is, therefore the most elect of the most elect of the races upon earth.² Immediately

² Nevertheless, among the first batch of insurgents captured during the Moplah rising of last year and lodged after conviction, in the Coimbatore jail on September 3, was Mozhikunnad Munakkat Brahmavattan Nambudripád, a young Nambudri of twenty five years of age, said to be worth five lakhs of rupees and described as a prominent Khalfat agitator. To parallel such an incident even faintly one must imagine the Chief Rabbi engaged in a propaganda in favour of the infallibility of the Pope.

below the Nambudripáds come the Visishta or "remarkable" Nambudris, who are sub-divided into Agnihotris and Bhattatiris. Of these the former perform the great *yágams* or sacrifices, while the business of the latter is to study philosophy and logic and to expound the caste law. The Nambudri proletariat are known as *sámanya*, or "ordinary" Nambudris, they study the vedas and discharge priestly duties. Mention can only be made of two other sub castes—the eight families of Ashtavaidyams, or hereditary physicians who are considered as degraded because they may have to shed blood—and the Ambalavásis or temple servants, who hover on the border line between Brahmans and such quasi Brahmans as the Elayads of South Malabar, who act as priests to certain castes.

An exhaustive survey of the infinite variety of castes in Malabar is impossible, and we must therefore pass on to the group of castes forming the Malayáli aristocracy. A few of the princely families including the ruling house of Travancore, claim to be Kshattriyas but the great majority are Samantans. Chief among them is the Zamorin Rajá of Calicut³ who is to day a mere Zamindar but who represents the historic dynasty which was reigning in Malabar when the Portuguese first landed on the coast. Other petty chieftains of this caste are the Karnamulpad of Manjeri and the Tirumalpád of Nilambur in Ernad taluk—names which have unhappily become familiar in connection with the Moplah rising. In certain Kshattriya families—as, for example that of the Raja of Kollengod in Palghat taluk—the head is styled Nambidi but the title is also used by the Karugas, a Nambudri sub-caste in North Malabar who

³ The term Zamorin (Çamudre or Zomodri) is a Portuguese rendering of the Malayalam word Samudri, which has been supposed to mean Lord of the Sea. Mr Thorne, in his notes to the second volume of The Book of Duarte Barbosa (Hakluyt Society, 1921), has shown, however, that the true etymology is to be found in the Sanskrit words *Svami* and *śrī* the latter becoming *śrī* or *śrī* in Malayalam usage. The termination *śrī* or *śrī* is common in the names of high castes Nambudri, Embrándri, Bhattatiri. Samudri therefore means "great chief."

perform funeral and other ceremonies for Sudras. The customs of Kshattriyas and Sámantans are almost identical, but the former wear the sacred thread (*pumul*) and the latter do not. The marriage rules are also different ⁴

Both the Kshattriyas and the Sámantans may be referred racially to the great caste of Náyers which constitutes the most characteristic if not the most numerous, of the Hindu communities of Malabar. Primarily they formed the great military class, and still own much land, but in modern times they have exchanged the sword for the pen and have achieved a practical monopoly of the professions and of Government service.⁵ Sir C Sankaran Nair, the most distinguished member of the caste has expressed his belief, in conversation with the writer, that the Náyers came originally from the north, and has mentioned in support of this view that the dialect spoken at Delhi contains many words which bear a close resemblance to Malayálam. The general opinion is that they were probably a race of Dravidian immigrants who were among the first invaders of Malabar, and, as conquerors, assumed the position of the governing and landowning class. That they are not the aboriginal inhabitants is evident from the fact that all over Malabar Náyar families own agricultural serfs who are distinctly of a negroid type. Whatever their origin, their culture has only been superficially influenced by the Aryan immigration of which the Nambudris are the representatives. Their religious beliefs exhibit an extraordinary admixture of Hindu and Dravidian cults. Mr Panikkar

⁴ Kshattriya men can marry Kshattriya or Sámantan women. Sámantan men can only marry women of subordinate Samantan or Nayar families. Kshattriya and "royal" Samantan women marry only Nambudris or Kshattriyas, ordinary Samantan women, in addition may marry Sámantans.

⁵ Mr K. P. Sivasankara Menon who passed at the head of the list of candidates for the Indian Civil Service at the Open Competition held in August, 1921, is a Náyar by caste. The career will be fresh in the public mind of Sir Sankaran Nair, who has been successively Advocate-General of Madras, Judge of the Madras High Court, Education Minister in the Government of India, and member of the Secretary of State's Council.

himself a Náyar observes in this connection that nothing shows so much the extreme persistence of primitive culture as the wide and almost universal acceptance of spirit-worship and the almost entire absence of religious life among the Náyars after at least twenty centuries of contact with Hinduism

While the Nambudris are the spiritual kings of Malabar, the Náyars are the feudal and military aristocrats of the country Burke, in one of his speeches on the French Revolution, classed them with the Mamalukes of Egypt, and they have been famous since the days of Marco Polo. Traces of the martial spirit which attracted the notice of Gaspar Correa and Duarte Barbosa, and many other early travellers, survive in the *Kalaris*, a sort of combined private chapel and gymnasium, or fencing school, which are still attached to high-class Nayar houses. There is an instructor in arms to the Zamorin's family, who is known as the Dharmoth Panikkar, and whose ancestors were the hereditary commanders-in-chief

High-class Náyars may be divided into three classes. In South Malabar the first in order of precedence are the Kiriyaṁ or Kiriyaṭṭil Náyars to which most of the land-owners belong. The next grade is known as Chárna or Chárnavar Náyars. One section of them, the Agattu Chárnavar or "inside retainers," are the body-servants and house-servants of the various chieftains. The Purattu Chárnavar or 'outside retainers,' who are superior in the social scale, represent the armed retainers. The last class of high-caste Náyars are known as Súdra Náyars, and are *par excellence* the attendants of the Nambudris, as the Chárnavar are of the non Brahman chieftains. Both Chárnavar and Sudra Náyars use the title of Menon, which should, strictly speaking, be conferred by the Zamorin or some other feudal lord. In North Malabar the high caste Náyars are divided into exogamous subdivisions or *kulams*, and these in their turn are grouped to form sub-castes, which are usually endogamous. Each

division presents its own complications and peculiarities. Thus, in Payyanad, which is a portion of Kurumbranad taluk, there are seven groups of *kulams*. In the highest group of twelve *kulams*, two affix the title Adiyodi to their names, and three are known as Nambiyars. Many Nambiyars claim to be Sámantans, and the title, as well as that of Adiyodi, is borne by certain classes of North Malabar Sámantans. The northern subdivisions rank higher than the southern, and a Náyar woman from the north may not enter into matrimonial relations with a man from the south. Midway in the social scale come certain castes of traders, which are probably of foreign origin, such as the Múttans and Taragans, and the Váyabari or Ravari Náyars who figure in Barbosa as Biabares. Below them are a number of classes of a non-military character with traditional occupations—potters palakeen-bearers, masons, copper-tappers (who roof the *srikovil* or inner shrine of the temple with that metal), oil millers, and cowkeepers, and below them, again, are washermen, barbers, writing masters, and weavers.

The next great caste is known as Izhuvans (Illuvans) in the Palghat taluk, and elsewhere in Malabar as Tiyans. These form the most numerous Hindu community on the coast, and their traditional occupation is planting and tapping of the cocoa-nut tree. As a class they are most progressive, and, according to the "Malabar Gazetteer" not a few Tíyan families in North Malabar admit to a considerable admixture of European blood. They are free men in theory, but still show traces of serfdom in their relations with the Náyars, living as their tenants and doing their work for them. Inasmuch as the use of the caste temples is denied to them, they have taken to building temples of their own. They are said to be of Cingalese origin.

Descending still further down the social ladder, we reach the Mukkavans or fishermen, and the artizan, menial, musician, and devil-dancing castes. The term Kammálan

is used loosely of any artizan, but there are four principal castes, each forming an endogamous community—namely, the goldsmiths (*tattáns*), the blacksmiths (*perinkolláns*), the braziers (*músáris*), and the carpenters (*asáris*). Closely allied with these are the *kolla kurups*, who combine the practice of massage with the manufacture of the characteristic leather shields of the west coast—occupations which are not as incongruous as they seem, on account of their association with the military training given at the *Náyar kalarí*. Malabar is famous for its carpenters and its shampooers. As for devil-dancing this is quite a feature of religious life in Malabar. If anyone is possessed of a devil—and it is usually a woman—an expensive and elaborate dance, known as *Kolan thullal* is performed with hideous masks, and continues until the unfortunate person possessed falls into a sort of hysteria, when the devil is supposed to have been cast out.⁶ Again, the services of the *Kanáns* or astrologers are indispensable on every important occasion.

Lastly, we arrive at the depressed 'aboriginal' classes, of which the principal representatives are the *Cherumans* ('slaves') or *Pulayans* ('polluters')⁷ and the *Náyadis* or "dog-eaters". These live in conditions of the most abject degradation, and to all intents and purposes are still the agrestic serfs which they formerly were. Between the *Cherumans* and the *Náyadis* are the *Paráiyans*, who act as scavengers, and are much dreaded for their knowledge of black magic.

The foregoing rough enumeration of the principal castes

⁶ There are a few *Nambudris* who are celebrated *mantravadis* or magicians, but they are looked upon as degraded and strictly outcaste. They are known as *chela Nambudris*—that is the offspring of *Nambudris* who were forcibly converted to Islam by Tippoó—and (as some occupation must be found for them) are supposed to have full control over the malignant demon *Kuttichattan*. But on the whole it is among the lower castes that a living is made out of exorcism and magic.

⁷ *Cherumans* and *Pulayans* are akin, but Mr Thorne has pointed out that there is a distinction. In North Malabar *Pulayans* are numerous, but they are never called *Cherumans*.

has of necessity taken no account of the peculiar features which characterize the social organization of West Coast Hindus. Caste exclusiveness in Malabar manifests itself principally in two respects. Firstly, the touch or approach of a person of a lower class conveys pollution, and secondly, women may contract alliances only with men of an equal or superior caste, whereas men, though for the most part restricted to their caste or class, may in some cases form connections with women of an inferior class. A third test is, of course, interdining, as elsewhere among Hindus, but there is this difference. A high class Nambudri male may eat the food cooked by a Sámánya or "ordinary" Nambudri and even by a Sámantan, but an Anterjanam or Nambudri woman cannot. Similarly Náyar males can partake of meals prepared by any Náyar without distinction of sub-caste, but a Náyar woman of the higher castes cannot eat the food prepared by anyone belonging to a lower. The distinction is observed also among the lower castes.

Pollution, as already mentioned, is conveyed either by touch or by approach, and the rules are of the most precise and complicated character. Every man considers himself polluted by the touch of anyone below him in the social scale. But in addition to this, at a certain point in the caste system, the taint is supposed to become so pronounced as actually to affect the atmosphere and carry pollution to persons' houses, and the like within a radius of several yards from the person who is the centre of infection. The radius increases with the fall in the social status. There is in fact a prescribed scale of distances which is required to be rigidly observed,⁸ and in ordinary conversation such expressions as a *Tiya pād* or a *Cheruma-pād*—the distance at which a *Tiyan* or *Cheruman* must keep—are commonly

⁸ Ideas of a similar character appear to have prevailed in Germany before the French Revolution. (See Fischel and Boehn's "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," 1790-1817, English edition, vol. 1., p. 5.) For instance, a woman of the middle class in Berlin was forced, if she chanced to meet a countess in any public place to seat herself at least six chairs away from her.

used. Kammálans (artizans) and Illuvans, or Tiyan (toddy drawers), cause atmospheric pollution to the higher castes within a radius of about 19 English feet in the State of Cochin. In Malabar itself, according to Mr Thurston, a Náyar may not approach nearer than 6 paces to a Nambudri, a man of the barber caste (Marayan) nearer than 12 paces, a Tiyan 36, a sorcerer or exorcist (Pánan) 64, and a Pulayan or Cheruman (slave) 96. The "Malabar Gazetteer" gives the distance in the case of a Kammálan (artizan) as about 24 feet, and in the case of an aboriginal Náyadi as 74. Náyars are as punctilious as Nambudris. The mere approach anywhere near a Náyar or a Cheruman or Pulayan or any inferior being even a Tiyan, as he walks home from the temple, cleansed in body and mind, his marks newly set on his forehead with sandalwood paste, is pollution, and he must turn and bathe again before he can enter his house and eat. In the older days (according to Buchanan Hamilton) a Nayar thought nothing of cutting down on the spot any low caste man who approached within polluting distance of his person. At the present day the higher caste man, as he walks along the road, utters a warning grunt or hoot. In the words of van Linschoten, who made a "Voyage in the East Indies" at the close of the sixteenth century, "as these Nayres go in the streets, they cry, 'Po, Po,' which is to say, 'Take heed, I come, stand out of the way'". Three centuries later, Swami Vivekananda came, in the course of his wanderings, to Malabar. There, he says, he met Brahmans and Náyars strutting through the streets like peacocks, making a deafening sound, "Hoi, hoi." What is the meaning of this word? he asks. It means "clear out of the road," and he is provoked to exclaim that Malabar is the lunatic asylum of the world. Certainly it comes as a shock to see the Náyadis—*infima et pessima gens*—who are professional beggars, depositing a cloth in the middle of the road and squatting in the fields outside the prescribed radius, whence, from time to time, they shout dismally to

attract the attention of passers-by who may, if they wish, drop a coin on the cloth. Even among the Cherumans, who are equally beyond the pale the lowest group known as Kundons, is considered to convey pollution by touch to members of all other groups by reason of the fact that the Kundóttis, or women of the sub caste, act as midwives. If pollution is caused, whether physical or atmospheric, it can be removed only by complete immersion in water, either in a tank or a river. Strangely enough, atmospheric pollution is not conveyed by Jews, Christians, or Mohammedans, and this applies even to converts to the two latter religions from the very lowest castes. As Mr. R. S. Whiteway puts it, in his book on "The Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," a Pulayan (whom he calls a "Poler") who could not approach within 100 yards of a Nambudri, and has to howl like a wild beast as he walks to warn all others of his polluted vicinity, has everything to gain, therefore, by adopting a faith which admits at once to social equality.

There is another form of pollution which may be termed ceremonial pollution. A birth or death in a family causes such pollution to all members of the family in all its branches and a similar pollution is entailed upon women at certain times and after childbirth. The duration of the period varies according to caste status. In the case of Brahmans it is ten days, Sámantans, who may not eat with Brahmans, observe fifteen days, and also Náyers. The duration in the case of women is three days uniformly, but certain purificatory ceremonies besides immersion are necessary, as also in the case of death pollution. Similar ceremonies are also required if a Brahman is touched by a lower caste man when under birth or death pollution.

Remarkable as this doctrine of pollution is, it is eclipsed by the system of inheritance and of family organization known as *marumakattayam* (literally, "descent through sister's children"), bound up with which is the institution known as *sambandham*, the loose form of marital association obtaining among the castes following *marumakattayam*,

which entails no responsibility or legal obligation whatever on the part of the father towards his wife and children. According to this system, which prevails among the Kshatriyas, the Sámantans, the Ambalavásis (temple servants), and the Náyers proper, and partially among some other castes, children belong to the same caste or sub-caste and family as their mothers.⁹ The custom affects the caste system, because the rule of hypergamy (*anulomam*, or "going with the hair") which allows a woman but not a man to marry into a superior caste or sub-caste, is widely observed in Malabar, and its violation (*prathulomam*, or "going against the hair") is said to have given rise to some of the mixed castes. With the exception of seventeen *illams* or houses of the Payyanur *grámam*, or village in the Chirakkal taluk in North Malabar, which follow *marumakattáyam*, the Nambudris are governed by *makattáyam*, under which a child belongs to his father's family, and there is nothing surprising in this circumstance. The eldest male of a Nambudri family marries within his own caste, and the ceremony is accompanied by all the ordinary legal and religious sanctions and incidents. But this rule does not apply to the cadets who escape from the life long bachelorhood (*brahmacharam*) to which they are supposed to devote themselves, by entering into *sambandham* union with women of the Kshatriya, Sámantan, and Nayar castes. They cannot touch the children which result from such connections without incurring pollution, but the convenience of the arrangement to the Nambudri is obvious. He avoids the burden and responsibility of family life, and owing to the combination of the practice with the rule of

⁹ The other great centre of 'mother right' in India must be sought among the Khasis and the Garos in the Assam hills (see the monographs of Colonel Gurdon and Colonel Playfair). In the Malay States the exogamic system of tribes or clans descending in the female line exists in Negri Sembilan, and is said to be derived from Minangkabau immigrants from the uplands of Central Sumatra (*J.R.A.S.*, October, 1921, p. 641). The Rev J. Ovington, in his "Voyage to Suratt in the Year 1689, when alluding to the Malabar custom, makes mention of a similar practice near the mouth of the Congo: "The sister's sons, as in Africa, and not the king's, are heirs to the Crown, because the blood royal runs certainly in their veins."

hypergamy, ensures the higher race against contamination with the blood of the lower, for, firstly, the offspring of the union belong to the caste of the mother, and, secondly, the males of the Kshattriya, Sámantan, and Náyar castes are restricted in the matter of *sambandham* to women of their own or a lower caste. But it may be doubted if ever the custom was deliberately introduced by the Nambudris. It is more prevalent in North Malabar, where Nambudri influence has always been less than in the South, and has there been adopted by Tiyans and other castes which pollute Brahmans, and even by the Mohammedan Moplahs. Possibly the origin may be found in the military organization of the Náyar community "Marriage," writes Montaigne, "is interdicted, and all recreations except war to the nobility of Calicut. Some authorities regard the practice as a survival of a universal primitive culture, but this theory is inconsistent with the fact that a regular system of marriage exists among the jungle tribes and the lowest castes who are generally considered to represent the aborigines. The fraternal polyandry practised by the Kammálans and Kanisans and some sections of the South Malabar Tiyans, is distinct from the *sambandham* system. Travellers in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries allude, it is true, to the prevalence of polyandry among the Náyars. But Mr Panikkar points out that these "observers" were not allowed to come within sixty yards of a Náyar's house, and he asserts that the extensive Malayalam literature of that period, which is entirely the work of Nambudris and Náyars, contains not a single reference to polyandry and that not one authenticated case has occurred during the last fifty years. The idea of polyandry, he says, was repugnant to the Náyar community as a whole, although individuals may here and there have indulged in it"¹⁰

¹⁰ Mr Thorne, on the other hand, holds that, however much present day Náyars may dislike the fact, there is ample evidence that polyandry, as described by Conti (1444), Barbosa (1510) César Fredericke (1563), and

The *sambandham* customs are of the simplest nature. If the suitor is a Náyar he is generally the girl's father's sister's son. Whether he is a Náyar or a Brahman he informs the head of the girl's family of his desire. An auspicious date is selected with the help of the astrologer, and the village elders are informed. The suitor brings some *pudakas* (or clothes which a wife wears) and hands them over to the girl in the presence of her relations and the neighbours. It is then duly announced that they are "married." The union is however, dissoluble at will and either party can break off relations whereupon the other can without further formality seek a fresh mate.¹¹

The Náyar family, or *tarwád* under the system of *marmakattáyam*, consists of all the descendants from the same ancestress, counting relationship exclusively from the side of the mother. An ordinary *tarwád* will be composed of relations four or five degrees removed and it naturally varies in numerical strength. In old and aristocratic families fifty or eighty persons will constitute a *tarwád*, but there are some *tarwáds* which have 150 or 200 members. Relationship by marriage is not recognized and children belong to their mother's *tarwád*. The husband and wife are regarded as casual visitors in the home of the other. Property is owned in common and in theory belongs only to the females. In Malabar the senior male member is, as a rule, recognized as the manager, or *kárnavan* but in the highest family following the law of *marumakattáyam*, which is that of the Zamorin of Calicut the senior lady is invariably the head. The *kárnavan* exercises full control over the family property, arranges *sambandhams* for the young men as well as for the girls, and punishes offenders by

many others, was once common among Náyars. It is now extinct as a recognized custom except (he believes) among some Náyars of Travancore.

¹¹ In a paper read by Sir Sankaran Nair at the London School of Economics on June 24, 1914, the whole system was elaborately examined. Numerous additional details are given in Mr Panikkar's admirable essay (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xlviii, pp. 267-272).

cutting off their allowance or prohibiting them from entering the house. His wife has, of course, no standing in the *tarwád*, and is therefore regarded with suspicion and universally considered to be a sort of sinister stepmother. Rigid rules for social intercourse are observed. A Náyar young man or woman may not talk to any relations of the opposite sex in the same family if they are of almost the same age. That is to say, a young man may talk to a sister considerably older than himself, but under no conditions may he talk to a younger sister¹². When the *tarwád* grows unwieldy or certain members show insubordination, partition is resorted to, and the property is divided in equal shares along each female line. Property acquired by any member through his or her exertions while living in the *tarwád* home has come to be regarded as absolutely owned with right of devise, and to descend on death to the maternal relatives.

One result of this system is that the Náyar regards his sister's children with far more affection than his own. The father is not necessarily of the same caste as his son, and in any case it is the nephews who are the heirs of a man and who will carry on the traditions of the family. Another result is seen in the fair complexions and the handsome features of the higher castes of Náyars. The women in particular have the most delicately refined features, and their beauty (for they are not *gosha*, or confined behind the *purdah* as elsewhere in South India) has long been a theme for comment. Pierre Loti's outburst of admiration is unrestrained: "On dirait un peuple de dieux, tant sont beaux les visages, tant sont nobles les attitudes, profonds et insondables les regards. Cette foule est une mêlée de torses et de bras taillés dans le bronze, d'une perfection et d'une grace de bas relief antique."

¹² This peculiarity, which is mentioned by Mr. Panikkar, writing in 1919, was noted also by Duarte Barbosa, who completed his "Book" in 1518. "The Nayres," he says, "never enter the same room as their younger sisters, nor even a house where they are alone, nor do they touch them nor speak to them."

Among the more influential families, and especially those of the Rájás or Tamburans, it is customary to set aside certain portions of the *tarwád* property for the life enjoyment of the senior members only. The separate estates thus created are called *stánams*, or "dignities." They are held in succession by the several members as they succeed to the position to which they are attached. Thus the family of the Zamorin of Calicut is divided into three *kovilagams*, or palaces: the *Padinhara* or western, with its house at Mankavu, just outside Calicut, the *Puthiya*, or new, at Tiruvannur, also a few miles outside Calicut, and the *Kizhakké*, or eastern, at Kottakal, in Ernad, about eighty five miles from Calicut. Each has its separate estate under the management of its senior lady, or *tamburátti*. At the same time there are five *stánams* also, with separate properties set aside for the use of the five senior male members of the family, who are known as Zamorin, Erálpád, Munárpád, Edattrapád, and Nedu thrappad. The eldest lady of the royal house is styled Valiya Tamburátti, and the Zamorin refers to her as "mother," although she may be younger than he and to his predecessor as "uncle," although the relationship is usually that of a brother or cousin. The *tamburáttis* or princesses take their mates from Nambudris, although sometimes Kshattriya *tamburans* are chosen. They remain in their *kovilagams*, and are visited there by their mates. The children belong to the *kovilagam* in which they are born, and are heirs to the royal dignities, the true stock of the royal descent being as Barbosa puts it, through the woman. A man's position in the line of succession is determined, however, by his own age, and not as Barbosa thought by the age of his mother. It is the eldest male in the line of descent who succeeds, and as he moves from the grade of Erálpád to that of Zamorin, the lower grades are filled up accordingly. Thus an uncle may have to give way to a nephew, who is older than himself, and the case of an elder *tamburátti's* son being

superseded by a younger *tamburatti's* son is common. The Zamorin, therefore (as Barbosa notes), is always advanced in years, and within the last century there have been fifteen Zamorins, of whom seven have succeeded during the last twenty five years. The sons of the Zamorin or of the *tamburans* are not received into the royal families, and belong to the caste of their mothers, who are never of the same rank as the fathers and are usually Náyars. When adoption becomes requisite to keep the royal house from extinction, ladies are chosen from some allied family, and their sons succeed in due course.

Another institution found among the classes following the *marumakattayam* system, as well as among many of those who observe *makattayam*, is the "*tali* tying" wedding, or *talikettu kalyanam*, which has been described as the most peculiar, distinctive, and unique of the Malayáli marriage customs. It consists of the tying of a *tali*, or small piece of gold or other metal like a locket, on a string round a girl's neck when she reaches a marriageable age. This is done by a man of the same or a higher caste—as to which the usage of different castes vary—and it is only after it has been done that the girl is at liberty to contract *sambandham*. In order to reduce the expenses of the accompanying feast, it is becoming usual for the *tali* to be tied simultaneously on all the girls of a family who may be below the age of eleven. In some cases the *tali* is even tied by the girl's mother. The important point is that the girl becomes an outcaste if the *tali* is not tied on her at the appropriate time, and, according to Mr Panikkar the ceremony constitutes the actual and religious marriage, although it is unaccompanied by any definite marital relationship.

A word must now be said upon the system of village organization which prevails in Malabar. This must not be confounded with the village communities of the rest of India, which own land in common, and deal with other villages as units. The system in Malabar is concerned

only with such specific purposes as the management of the temple, of which there is one in each village, and, in former days, military training and mobilization. The organization includes only Náyar families. All other castes are excluded, although, with the exception of the slave castes, they may and do live side by side. The temple authorities are appointed by the village, and power is generally vested in the *asans* or *pramanis* (chief men), of whom the foremost corresponds to the lord of the manor. Each house, as already mentioned, stands apart in a separate compound, and it may happen that a Náyar's neighbour is a Christian. But so far as the communal life is concerned, he does not exist.

The dress of the Malayáli is extremely simple. The men wear a *kónam*, or small strip of cloth, passed between the legs and attached at the front and the back to a string tied round the waist, and a *mundu* or white cloth round the waist, tucked in on the right side, and hanging loose to the knees or ankles. They also sometimes carry a small upper cloth (*torttumundu*) thrown over the shoulder. *Mundus* are as a rule white, but the Nambudri wears one with a gold border. It is still the custom, however, for men to go bare above the waist when in their houses. No turban is worn, but a palm leaf umbrella is always carried. The fishermen and agricultural coolies protect the head with a mushroom-shaped hat of palmyra leaves, and Náyar women often carry in their hands a hat of this kind with a crown which is too small for the head. For costume the women wear a short cloth and also a single long white cloth (*tuni*) tucked round the waist and hanging down to the ground. The upper part of the body is now usually covered when going out, but the old custom was to wear nothing above the waist. All women wear earrings, and the lobe of the ear is dilated in childhood to admit of the fitting in of the *tóda*, a boss-shaped hollow cylinder from an inch to an inch and a half in diameter. The hair is parted in the middle and, in the north, drawn tight to the ears and

tied in a chignon, in the south, except among Nambudri women, it is twisted up in front in a sort of cone. The men leave only a small oval patch of hair on the top of the head (*kudumi*), which is allowed to grow long and is twisted in a knot, when it hangs over the forehead in front or to one side. If a Nambudri is seen with a beard it is a sign that he is in mourning, or that he is expecting an addition to his family

The Hindus, whose castes and customs we have been discussing, comprise nearly 70 per cent. of the population. The Mohammedans number about 30 per cent., and are principally concentrated in the Ernad and Walluvanad taluks, where they are to be found in the ratio of one in three. They are known as Moplahs (Mappillas). Like the Navayats of the Konkan and the Lubbays of the Coromandel Coast, they are of Arab origin, but unlike the Navayats, who have systematically avoided intermarriage with the Indians, they are reputed to spring from the union of Arab traders and sailors with the women of the country, and they have consistently replenished their numbers by conversions from the Hindu slave castes. The coast Moplahs and those of old family and social position, are often extremely fair, with features of a distinctly Semitic cast, whereas the Moplahs of the interior are indistinguishable from Tiyans and Cherumans. By occupation they are tenant farmers, sailors and ferrymen on the rivers and backwaters, and many of them work as labourers on rubber and other plantations. Some are successful traders, and as such are well known in Ceylon, Burma and the Straits Settlements. But as a rule the Moplahs are miserably poor and utterly illiterate, and agrarian grievances keep them in a chronic unrest which has flared repeatedly into open rebellion when religious propaganda ministers to a fanaticism of the most extreme type. Isolated geographically and linguistically (for they are ignorant of Hindustani) from other Indian Mohammedans, they outdo them in the narrowness and fervour of their creed. They are, for

instance, strict teetotalers in practice as well as in theory, and, as a well-informed writer has pointed out,¹³ their destruction of liquor shops in the present rising (which is the latest in a long series)¹⁴ is the expression of a genuine and passionate intolerance. In addition to the strong Puritan strain which they exhibit in their religion, they cherish an unending feud with the great Nambudri and Nāyar landowners and with the whole middle class of pleaders, land agents and Government servants, whom they regard with mingled jealousy and contempt. Ballads and recitals keep alive the memory of the great days of Tippoo who scourged the Malabar rājas and landlords with the rod of Islam and of the Sahids, or 'martyrs,' who have since, from time to time won eternal bliss in conflict with the infidel. Annual festivals are actually celebrated in commemoration of these heroes at Malappuram and Kondótti. Their religious leaders are known as tangals, and the principal authority is the Makhdum Tangal. This personage is head of a sort of theological college at Ponnāni, and confers the title of Musaliyar, or elder, on mullas who have qualified themselves to interpret the Koran and the commentaries. Implicit belief is given to the stories however extravagant, told by the Tangals and the Musaliyars. The former pretend to a high degree of sanctity, and of one of the Mambram Tangals whose mausoleum is directly opposite the Moplah town of Tíurangadı in Ernad taluk it is related that the Moplahs swear by his foot as their most solemn oath, and treasure the earth on which he spat. They belong to the Shafi school of Sunnis, and look upon the Turkish Sultan as Khalifa. In South Malabar they are divided into two sects, with headquarters respectively at Ponnāni and Kondótti, which are constantly quarrelling with each other,

¹³ *New Statesman* November 26, 1921

¹⁴ With rare exceptions, says the "Malabar Gazetteer, these outbreaks have always blazed out within a radius of fifteen miles from the Pandálur hill in the Ernad taluk, the so-called "fanatical zone." The Arab strain is here very faint.

but intermarriage is not prohibited, and the practice of "crossing the floor" is as usual as it is among politicians. Their customs exhibit a strange mixture of Hinduism and Mohammedanism. Though magic is condemned by the Koran, a belief in demons and talismans is common. In North Malabar the *marumakattāyam* system is followed, although it is opposed to the principles of the Koran, in the South the *makattāyam* system is the rule, but succession to religious *stānams*, or estates, such as that of the Valiya Tangal of Ponnāni, ordinarily goes by *marumakattāyam*. On the other hand, circumcision is practised, the dead are buried, the five essentials of the Islamic creed are strictly observed—namely, the recital of the confession of faith, the five daily prayers, the thirty days' fast of Ramazan, the duty of giving alms, and the hajj or pilgrimage to Mecca (which last is, however, undertaken only by those who can afford it)—and lastly, property is distributed at death among wives, sons, and daughters in shares, which frequently resolve themselves into minute fractions, and inevitably foster poverty. The customary dress of the men is a *mundu* or cloth, generally white with a purple, orange, or green border, and tied on the left, in contradistinction to the Hindus who tie it on the right. Persons of importance wear in addition a long flowing garment of fine white cotton and a sleeved waistcoat. In the case of a Tangal the costume is completed by a cloak of coloured silk. The usual head-dress is a small cap of white or white and black, and round this an ordinary turban or brightly coloured scarf may be wound. Shaven heads are the rule, and elderly men and Tangals are frequently bearded. Women of the higher classes are secluded, and hide their faces when they go out, the lower classes are not particular in this respect. Their normal dress is a dark blue *mundu*, a loose white bodice, more or less embroidered, and a veil or scarf on the head. They are much addicted to jewellery, and, as among the Tiyans and Mukkuvans (toddy drawers and fishermen), a great number of earrings are worn.

Nose rings are not favoured but the rim of the ear is bored into as many as ten or twelve holes in addition to the one in the lobe. All Moplahs will eat together ¹⁵

The chief secular potentate of the community is the Ali Rajá of Cannanore in North Malabar. According to tradition, the first of the line was a Nayar at the Court of the Kollattiri Rajá ¹⁶ who embraced Islam about the end of the eleventh century A.D. His successors became the hereditary ministers of the Kollattiri and attained a position of considerable power. At one time they were lords of the Laccadive Islands which contain a Moplah population and possessed their own fleet. But they are now merely land-owners. The succession goes in the female line, and the Waliya Bibi or Senior Lady, was formerly an important personage. In 1824 she was "regularly supplied with a guard of honour from the military station at Cannanore, says Major H. Bevan in his "Thirty Years in India," and was "very strict in exacting this homage to her rank."

The Malabar museum of castes and customs is almost complete, but mention has still to be made of the Syrian, or Nestorian, Christians, and the "white" and "black" Jews, although the last named are confined to the town of Muttancheri, which is just within the borders of the Cochin State. The Syrian Christians are chiefly found in the south of Ponnani taluk and in Palghat. They are at

¹⁵ As regards the Moplahs, Mr J. J. Cotton I.C.S., now Judge at Coimbatore (the district adjoining Malabar), sends the following note: "Many of the Moplahs are converted Cherumans and I am told, though I can hardly believe it, that circumcision is not compulsory. They are mostly farm labourers, and very poor, dirty, and uneducated. The real Moplah, with the genuine Arab blood in him, is rather a fine specimen. Conversion of women is effected by alteration of the method of doing the hair and putting on a Moplah woman's jacket. Among the men the top-knot is shaved and a Moplah name given."

¹⁶ This family which is one of the most ancient and honourable in Malabar, is now represented by the Rajá of Chirakkal. It is closely allied with the ruling house of Travancore, with which it observes "community of pollution, and ladies have been adopted from it to prevent that dynasty from extinction."

present divided into three main bodies those who are in communion with Rome but follow the Syriac rite, those who adhere to the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, and the St. Thomas Syrians who conform more or less to the Anglican Church. All claim the Apostle Thomas as their founder, and assert that he landed at Malankara near Cranganore in the year 52 and that, having converted some Brahmans he established seven churches—six in Travancore and Cochin, and one at Chowghat (Chavakkad) in Ponnani taluk. Later on, in the eighth or ninth century, a merchant named Thomas of Cana arrived at Cranganore with a contingent of 400 Nestorian Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, and is reputed to have obtained a grant of privileges on a copperplate which is still in the possession of the Syrian Christians at Kóttayam. The division into southerners (*tekkumbhagar*) and northerners (*vadakkumbhagar*) is said to date from this period. The former who represent the new comers, are fairer in complexion and have finer features, the latter, who claim descent from the high-caste Hindus converted by St. Thomas, observe more of the old Hindu customs and “walk after the way of the mother.” A further schism resulted from the proselytizing zeal of the Portuguese, who sought in the seventeenth century to incorporate the whole community under the jurisdiction of the Catholic Archbishop of Goa. In 1889 the reformed party arose, with its own *metrán* or spiritual head. Though a few of the families are of Syrian blood and some trace descent from Brahmans and Náyers, the bulk are by origin Tiyans (Illuvans) and Mukkuvans, from whom they do not differ materially in appearance, dress, or mode of life. The higher castes will not intermarry, and in some cases refuse to dine with the lower castes. Their priests are known as *cattanars*.

A similar gulf separates the ‘white’ from the ‘black’ Jews. The former maintain they are descended from the company of Jews and Jewesses who migrated from Jerusalem, to Cranganore after the destruction of the

Temple in A.D. 68, and that they have kept their race untainted. Their synagogue is paved with priceless blue and white porcelain tiles, the gift of a former Rájá of Cochin, and they display with pride a copperplate inscribed with ancient Tamil characters and purporting to be a grant of privileges to Joseph Rabban by the "King of Kings, the glorious Bhaskara Ravi Varman, who flourished, according to Dr Burnell, about the eighth century A.D. The "black Jews who are actually not much darker in complexion, are said by them to be the offspring of alliances between the 'white' Jews and women of the country, but the general opinion is that in spite of the copperplate, the "white' Jews are comparatively late arrivals, and that the black Jews are the descendants of the original settlers at Cranganore, who were probably refugees from Mohammedan persecution in Arabia or Persia in the sixth or seventh century. Both varieties are gradually dwindling in numbers, and neither are remarkable for material prosperity.

Malabar has been described by one of her sons as a land where life is made extremely easy by reason of the extreme fertility of the valley and the rich tropical luxuriance of the forest. It is therefore to a large extent a land of idleness, but is also a land of intellectual culture. Nowhere says Mr Panikkar are learning, art, and poetry so highly esteemed as among the Nambudris and the Náýars. If they seem elusive and hard to understand, if (as Mr Bruce expresses it) they seem to flow away from the stranger like quicksilver, it is because of the existence of that which makes them unique among Indian races—the grafting of Brahmanical institutions upon a matriarchal system of society. They are sensitive not about having their customs discussed, but about foreigners and outsiders seeming to cast blame upon them. There may be some truth in the saying that Travancore and inferentially Malabar is a heaven for the Brahmans and the Náýars, and for all other people a hell. But the usages

which strike the visitor from the West as unnatural are stoutly defended by the Náyers themselves. Sir Sankaran Nair repudiates the suggestion that the matriarchate and the *sambandham* are evidence of primitive barbarism. Western civilization, he says, leaves it to a woman to find a home by seeking a husband, and presupposes subordination to her mate. The Náyar rule is based upon the complete equality of the sexes. Matrimonial connections among present-day Náyers are ordinarily as permanent as in any European community, and it is claimed for the practice that it exhibits all the merits attributed to monogamy without any of the restrictions imposed by legal and social bonds which keep couples together who would be happier apart. Moreover, as Mr Panikkar points out, the *tarwád*, or joint undivided family, places the Náyers in a position of solid advantage in the matter of property, which they will be loath to forego. Among a few English-educated families no doubt the patrilocal is taking the place of the matrilocal system. But the chances are slight of any extensive change. It must be remembered that it is not only the Náyers but the Nambudris who are interested in the maintenance of the peculiar marriage system.

Time will prove the value of these surmises. Meanwhile the student of humanity will desire nothing better than the continuance of a structure of society and the survival of institutions which show that one portion at least of the East is unchanging. Whatever may be happening elsewhere, all things remain always the same on the Malabar Coast. The accuracy of observations made four centuries ago can be checked on the spot to-day. A man need not be labelled as an upholder of lost causes and impossible beliefs because he welcomes such a phenomenon and devotes some hours of his leisure to its examination.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall Westminster, S.W. on Monday, January 23, 1922 at which a paper was read by Mr H E A. Cotton C.I.E., entitled, 'Castes and Customs in Malabar' The Right Hon Lord Pentland G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E. occupied the chair The following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present Sir J D Rees, Bart, K.C.I.E. C.V.O., M.P., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Sir Francis Spring, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir William Owens Clark Mr A. Y. G. Campbell, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Mrs Campbell, Mr A. Porteous C.I.E., Mr F. H. Brown C.I.E., Mr W. Coldstream, K.I.H., the Countess of Haddo Lady Pentland Lady Kensington, Mr J. Sanders Slater, Colonel S. M. Slater Lieut-Colonel T. S. B. Williams, I.M.S. Mrs Villiers Stuart Miss Scatcherd, Mr and Mrs C. W. M. Hudson, Mrs H. E. A. Cotton and Miss Cotton, Mr G. F. Rowe and Miss Rowe, Mr W. G. Clarke Mr A. K. Pearce, Mr Barton, Mr and Mrs F. Hunt, Miss M. Sorabji Rev Dr Weitbrecht Stanton, Miss Nina Corner Mrs W. G. Martley Miss Stoton Rev H. Halliwell, Colonel V. Patekhine, Mr and Mrs G. P. Roy Mr S. C. Hill Mr W. Douglas Hall Mr F. J. P. Richter Mr Arnold Lupton Mr F. C. Channing Mr W. S. Hamilton, Mr K. N. Sitaram, Dr S. A. Kapadia Rev H. A. Rawlinson Mr Maniez Mr J. S. Dhunjibhoy Mr R. Sewell, Mr F. Grubb, Dr J. Cornwell Round, Mr and Mrs S. D. Pears Rev Arthur Parker Mr A. C. Duff I.C.S. Mr and Mrs A. R. Cumming, Colonel Lowry Mr W. F. Westbrook, Mrs A. S. Roberts, Dr F. W. Thomas, Mrs J. W. M. Cotton and Miss Cotton, Mr and Mrs O. H. Bensley Mr G. M. Ryan Miss Forman and Mr Stanley P. Rice, Hon Secretary

The SECRETARY stated that he had hoped that the Secretary of State would be present at the meeting, but he had received a letter from him in which he sent his best wishes for the occasion and expressed regret at his inability to attend owing to an important engagement

Letters of regret had also been received from Lord Ampthill, Lord Islington Lord Carmichael, and Sir Malcolm Seton

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen the best I can do for you on this occasion is without delay, to call upon Mr Cotton to give us the paper which we all look forward to with so much interest, on the "Castes and Customs in Malabar"

The LECTURER read the paper

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I am sure I speak for you all when I say that we have listened with the greatest possible interest to Mr Cotton's paper, we have a further pleasure to look forward to to-day, for I see in the audience men who know Malabar, having spent some years there, and may thus be able to contribute to the discussion which usually follows the reading of one of our papers I have now the privilege and

great pleasure of calling upon Sir John Rees Sir John Rees occupied the position of Resident in Travancore and Cochin so that no one has a better right to open our discussion We have also others present who have filled positions on the West Coast, and I hope they will follow Sir John Rees

Sir J D REES said that when one saw a paper with the name of Cotton on it one anticipated something in a kindly friendly, and loving spirit towards people in India, that was the spirit of the lecturer's father and is the spirit of the lecturer himself It was a great pleasure and privilege to anyone who knew the Malabar coast to hear the paper read He quite agreed with the lecturer that Malabar was outside the tourist route, and one did not meet anybody who knew anything about it except those who had been stationed there Malabar coast was a land of paradox inasmuch as it was beyond all comparison the most Christian part of India (25 per cent being Christians) but it was also beyond all comparison the most Hindu part being the only part of India where the old custom of matriarchy survived, and it was also the part of India in which the Mohammedans were just now most conspicuous He therefore claimed for it that it was the most Christian the most Hindu and the most Mohammedan part of India, and, beyond all comparison it was the most beautiful part, inhabited by the most beautiful people and particularly by the most beautiful women who were famous for their beauty all over the East As to the customs of the people the lecturer had told the meeting a good deal, but as an instance of the extraordinary difficulty there was in getting the people in this country to understand anything concerning their fellow subjects in India he would like to mention that when he was a member of the Joint Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons dealing with the Reform Bill which had lately come into operation greatly to Mr Cotton's satisfaction the Committee were asked to regard the Náyars of the Western Coast as members of the oppressed classes and to protect them against the ravages of the Brahmins their nearest relations with whom they were practically on a social level, and whom they copied in all their acts and deeds! But when it came to the real difficulty which was anticipated by the Joint Committee the oppression of other castes by the Brahmins, that did not happen in Malabar or in any other parts of the Madras Presidency, nor had he (the speaker) ever expected it would Then again he had heard it said that the women on the Western Coast were polyandrous, but in fact they were not, they had one husband at a time He believed that was monogamy, and if to have several husbands in succession was polyandrous, then that description could be applied to many people living in England (Laughter) The women were in no sense polygamous, although it was an expression commonly applied to them From his knowledge of the Coast, on which he lived for several years, he would say that marriages amongst present day Náyars were ordinarily as permanent as in many a European community The privilege referred to by the lecturer in his paper was exercised in a manner which was in accordance with the monogamous instincts which women everywhere, he believed, had, they did not dismiss their husbands except

for very good reason, and any husband who approached to good conduct would very likely be kept on for good and all. In European communities there were two systems—the Continental system, in which the girl was married to somebody chosen by her parents and the British system, where she married a person whom she preferred, just when her judgment was obscured by love. But in Malabar what happened was that the girl, as soon as she reached the year of discretion, was necessarily married, she went through a ceremony of marriage and wore a *tili* and then was technically a married woman. That was the Continental system, and then there was the English system superadded when she actually married the man of her choice. That system had all the merits and none of the disadvantages of the Continental and the English systems. Turning to the present position of the Moplahs, he regarded the matter, which was also one which arose out of the paper as of the first political importance. Mr Cotton had pointed out that the Moplahs were the descendants of Arab fathers and the beautiful women of the Western Coast; they were most fanatical, their customs were Hindu, they spoke Hindu languages and all their outlook was in almost every respect Hindu except in regard to their religion. It was quite true they had frequently broken out and there had been many disturbances, but such had been hitherto of an agrarian class the Moplahs being poor fanatical tenants of rich Hindus, and it did not take very much to create a disturbance in such conditions. But with regard to the Caliphate question they were immediate followers of that branch of the Mohammedans—the Sunnis—which was represented more particularly by the Caliph at Constantinople, they had been preached at by propagandist missionaries, and they had opportunity to attack the English on the ground that the people of England were the enemies of the Turks and the Mohammedans, and allies of the Greeks who were fighting the Turks. The matter was of the utmost importance, there could be no political question of more importance at the moment. The King of England was ruler of many more Mohammedan than of Christian subjects and it was absolutely necessary for trade that the English should be on good terms with their Mohammedan subjects. By sympathizing with the Greeks and Armenians we had succeeded in throwing the Mohammedans into the arms of the seditious section of the Hindus which was estranged from us. We had failed to conclude a full and generous peace with the Turks, we had allowed the Greeks to encroach upon and live in the great Turkish port of Smyrna, bit by bit we had excluded the Turks from Europe, we had driven them over to Asia Minor, and on Asia Minor we had planted their greatest enemies, the Greeks. In this situation how could there be peace between the Mohammedan and the Christian subjects of the King? He said that the subject was one of the utmost importance and Mr Cotton having given him the opportunity and Lord Pentland having called upon him he would not on any account lose the opportunity of calling attention to the fact that the question affected everyone vitally, and must be settled before real peace in the British Empire could be obtained. It was impossible to get good trade harmony, or reconstruction until we had convinced our Mohammedan subjects that we were their friends, and that

we were a great, just, and generous race, and were capable of doing what was right and just in this matter, when it was moreover entirely in our own interest to do what the Mohammedans wanted (Applause)

Mr CUMMING said that his experience of the West Coast was restricted to four or five months so he was not in a position to add to the discussion. He would only like to endorse all that Sir John Rees had said as to the extreme interest of Mr Cotton's paper.

Mr LUTON said that he was the solitary tourist who found his way to the Malabar Coast (1915)—(Hear hear)—and, although he had not been there, like Sir John Rees thirty years or so he had certainly been there thirty hours and perhaps a good deal longer than that, and he could certainly endorse what the lecturer had said about the beauty of the landscape about the mountains about the rivers about the cocoanut palms, and about the houses each surrounded with its own fence and its own garden. He had to take the description of the castes and local customs from the lecturer because that he had no time to investigate but he did see the lovely cultivated plain and the fishermen. He had had a great deal of pleasure in listening to the lecture and he wished it would be his good fortune to go to Malabar again. He would like to endorse every word uttered by Sir John Rees as to the vital importance of the King of this country and the Emperor of India making his peace with the Mohammedan religion so that this great empire might be a peaceful empire where Mohammedans and Christians, and Hindus would be peaceful citizens side by side as they were before the disastrous war upset the peace of the world (Applause)

Mr SITARAM said he wished to make a few remarks upon the paper. The caste system in Malabar was very peculiar but it could be very easily explained by anyone who knew it. The Nambudri corresponds to the Brahmin caste of India. Namburi means our own Brahmin as opposed to the outside Brahmin, who was called Pattar. Nambudri is a mistake for Namburi. In South India the word Pillai or Vellalan signified a man who cultivated the soil, and in Malabar the Nayars were the cultivators, the name being derived from the word Nayan, which means agricultural landlord as opposed to Triyan—a serf a low class fellow. The Malabar Nayars were none other than the agriculturists who flowed from the East Coast into Malabar. With regard to the customs of the people of Malabar, similar customs prevailed in other parts of India which had not been affected by the Islamic invasions. He did not know whether the lecturer had made clear the institution of Talikattu Kalyanam and the institution of *sambandham* which was essentially a South Indian institution. In South India every girl was betrothed (Talikattu Kalyanam or Panigrahanam) before she was twelve years old, it was considered right that a girl should be married or should be placed under the guidance of a man before she attained that age, and so, in the same way in Malabar before a girl attained the age of twelve or thirteen some person had authority over her and Malabar being freer than the rest of South India Talikattu had not the same rigour as elsewhere. The Malabar *sambandham* was an exact replica of the South India custom, Santi or Tirakshi

Kalyanam As regards the "*sals* tying," it was performed by a high class man, for he could marry a lower class woman, but he could not marry a higher class woman (*cf* the law of Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages) In conclusion he said he spoke with knowledge of the subject as he had been in Malabar for five years and had travelled throughout India

Mr BENSLEY said he would like to mention that in Travancore where he had been for some time the artisan caste ranked higher than the Illuvans. With regard to what the lecturer said about the Nambudris, he had had three people of that caste working under him. One was a Nambudripad and the other two were Nambudris. The Nambudripad was a chief constable and the other two were inspectors of police so that they sometimes unbent from their lordly attitude.

Miss F R SCATCHERD asked whether the lecturer when he used the words "the wide and almost universal acceptance of spirit worship and the almost entire absence of religious life meant ancestor worship as in China (The LECTURER No, it does not mean that.) With regard to what Sir John Rees had said about the difficulties in the Indian Empire at the present moment it seemed to her that the remedy would be for a thoroughly impartial historical statement to be prepared which would show the growth of the Frankenstein which threatened the peace of India with regard to the Khalifat. It seemed to her it had grown and grown there was a great deal of truth and untruth in it but unless that Frankenstein were reduced to its proper proportions it would threaten very gravely the best interests of all concerned.

In answer to Miss Scatterd the LECTURER said that when he spoke of spirit worship he did not mean anything more than animism—good spirits, bad spirits and so on—which was found not only amongst Malabars, but others.

To this Miss SCATCHERD replied that the question was put on account of the phrase almost entire absence of religious life she having understood that animism was primitive religion.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, our discussion has apparently come to an end. We have had a very interesting paper for which I think we must all thank the East India Association, which has brought us here and also thank Mr Cotton (Applause.) Very little remains to be said of Malabar and its castes and customs. It is not necessary for me to add anything to what Mr Cotton has said. He has brought out the leading features, and he has also added some very useful and welcome hints as to the sources from which much of his information has been derived, and by those finger posts he has directed us to further information if we like to seek for it. I agree with him that the modern book about Malabar remains to be written, and I hope that one result of his address to-day may be to inspire somebody to—

The LECTURER Find a publisher.

The CHAIRMAN I shall only add a word or two to what Sir John Rees has said about the Moplahs. A great deal of severe criticism has been passed upon the Moplahs lately. I should like to say a word for the Moplahs. The Moplah is not at all a bad fellow, as Sir John Rees will

I agree Years ago he made not at all a bad soldier, and I am told that in the Kolar gold field and in other labour undertakings he is not at all a bad worker I can also remember that one of my personal staff told me that once upon a time he had the best District Police team in the Presidency as good as any, composed entirely of Moplahs—District Police football team So the Moplahs are not always altogether bad fellows. They are fine, good healthy material, and, too as a community they are not altogether unprogressive It is nine years since I paid my first visit to Malabar, and I remember distinctly on that occasion meeting the leading Moplah, who told me then that fifty seven new schools had been opened that very year for Moplahs in the Malabar district that there was a Moplah deputy collector a Moplah deputy inspector of police, and a Moplah tahsildar, with many Moplah officials holding subordinate positions, as well as Moplah clerks, in the district So that, although they are subject, as Sir John Rees has pointed out to these fanatical outbreaks now and again, they are not altogether an unprogressive people They are excellent material and there is no reason why in time to come they should not be a far more valuable element of the population than they are now Let me say one word personally if I may why I am sure all people who have anything to do with Madras must especially welcome Mr Cotton's interest in Malabar on the present occasion Mr Cotton belongs to a family which for five generations has served in India and has been deeply interested in India—for five generations in direct line—and if he will forgive me referring to these personal things, I would like just to say how much such hereditary family connections with India count and have counted in the past (Hear hear and applause) I have the pleasure myself of knowing Mr Cotton's brother who is now District Judge at Coimbatore Many of you must have known his father, Sir Henry Cotton, who was in Parliament and held the position of Chief Commissioner in Assam, and again Sir Henry Cotton's father, Mr Cotton's grandfather was a Madras civilian and for many years Judge of Masulipatam which some of us here know pretty well Then again in the earlier generation his great-grandfather Mr John Cotton, was a director of the East India Company for twenty years, and was chairman of it in 1843 I go one step further back five generations, to his great great grandfather born in 1745, who commanded an East Indiaman and was a director of the East India Company from 1785 to 1823 Men who know India know well for how much such honourable and enduring connections with India count in the maintenance of that intimate connection between Britain and India which has lasted so long and which we wish to see last for many years yet to come For that particular reason also I would commend Mr Cotton and his paper to your cordial gratitude this afternoon (Loud applause)

The LECTURER in reply to the discussion on the paper said that he desired in the first place to thank his friend Sir John Rees for his remarks, which were the more valuable because they were founded upon first hand knowledge of Malabar But might he say that while the Moplahs were undoubtedly fanatical believers in the Khalifat, the fact remained that

the people whom they had attacked most savagely and persistently against the present rising were the Hindus? The rising was unquestionably fomented by the Khalifat agitators, but it had rapidly taken the form of an anti-Hindu campaign. The Azhuvancheri Tamburakkal, who cooked Hindu High Priest of Malabar, had been forced to fly for his Travancore, and his residence had been looted. The connection in only such an incident and the woes of the Osmanli Sultan was certain malans and he might say the same of the forcible conversion to Islam whose house befallen thousands of Hindus. He was much interested in the suggestions offered by Mr Sitaram. Speaking as a humble disciple out of the presence of a master, he would venture, however to suggest that that Sitaram was going too far in trying to reduce castes in South India to the same common denominator. It reminded him of the uncomfortable practice attributed to Procrustes, who had a bed made upon which he made his visitors lie. If they were too long he simply cut off the member that protruded, and if they were too small he stretched them until they fitted. Mr Sitaram endeavoured to convey the impression that the Nayers were identical with the Vellalas, or cultivators of Southern India but he hardly thought that the suggestion would meet with approval if it were made to a high class Nayar. By the mail from India that morning he had received some most helpful comments on his paper from Mr K N Krishna Kurup district munsif of Walluvanad whom the Moplahs had driven away from his court house. The notes would, he hoped, be published in due course in the ASIATIC REVIEW. But he would take leave to point out to Mr Sitaram that the North Malabar sub caste of Nayers to which Mr Krishna Kurup belonged claimed to rank with the Kiriattils, who were the highest among the Nayers and would greatly resent the notion that they were no better than Vellalas. As a matter of fact, the Nayers had always taken a superior position in Malabar. There was, for example not much of the Vellala suggestion about the following observation, made in 1746 by a representative of the Honourable Company at Calicut. 'These Nayers, he wrote, 'being heads of the Calicut people resemble the Parliament and do not obey the King's dictates in all things but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts. He might also mention that his Nayar friend had assured him that the *tali* tying ceremony was rapidly going out of fashion, owing partly to the expense and partly also because it was coming to be regarded as a needless ceremony. His last observation was in the nature of a confession. Mr Lupton (*terque quarterque beatus*) had been so fortunate as to spend thirty hours in Malabar. He (the speaker) had not been there even thirty minutes, but he was glad to find nevertheless that his paper had survived the scrutiny of such experts as Sir John Rees and Mr Bensley (who in his modesty had forgotten to tell them that he had spent forty years in Travancore) and that nothing very shocking in the nature of blunders had been discovered. It was alarmingly easy to go wrong, and as an instance he would refer to a page of 'special' pictures which had appeared in *The Sphere* of October 15, and which purported to deal with 'the Armed Revolt of the Moplahs'. The first picture was labelled 'Native Women'. This was

agree enough, but the women were all Hindus. The second picture was the Kog represent "A Typical Moplah, but the man selected was a typical worker. The third picture was called "A Delegate from the Patriarch at once up amongst the Moplahs, but what was given was a snapshot of a tor as good as up of a Jacobite bishop, two Jacobite priests and a small crowd team. In Christians in the background who were prominently displaying a fine, good of crucifixes. The fourth picture was a view of a river scene "At altogetherulam in the Moplah Country." The place certainly existed but it Malabared to be in the Cochin State, and 95 per cent. of the population Moplah Christians. The path to perdition being so delightfully easy he was that he relieved to find that he had managed to escape it. He was greatly Moplahed to those present for having come in such large numbers and for Moplah him such a cordial reception.

Mr SITARAM said that at the present time a Nayar may stoutly deny that he was equal in status with a Pillai or Vellalan but history could not go wrong. According to the derivation both words came from the roots signifying similar things. Practically 30 per cent. of the present day Náyars were not particular whether they called themselves Náyars or Pillais. In Travancore there was a learned judge and others who called themselves Pillais. The words Nayar and Pillai really meant the same and even at the present time there were quite a large number of Náyars who did agricultural work. It would be found from thousands of inscriptions and from various documents that the Náyars of Malabar corresponded with the Pillai or the agriculturist of South India, and at the present time there were quite a large number of Náyars who were landowners and who did agricultural work.

Hearty votes of thanks having been accorded the lecturer for his interesting paper and the chairman for having taken the chair at the meeting the proceedings terminated.

NOTES BY MR K M KRISHNA KURUP
District Munsif of Waltham

1. The Embrandiris domiciled in Malabar adopt some of the customs of the Nambudiris. They exchange their pigtail for the kudumi (top-knot). Some of them have assumed the title of Nambudiri and follow all their customs. The Kattamatatti Nambudiris—a fairly large family of *janmis* owning land both in North and in South Malabar and a family of famous *mantravadis*—were originally Embrandiris.

2. The Ashuvancheri Tambrakal [Tamburakkal] is the High Priest of Hindu Malabar. He officiates at the coronation of the Zamorin and the Maharaja of Travancore. His residence was looted in the recent Moplah outbreak, but he had left it previously with all his family for a place of safety in Travancore.

3. The statement requires modification [p. 12 of the paper] that "Nayar males can partake of meals prepared by any Nayar without distinction of sub-caste." If the food is prepared by a member of any of the three superior sub castes of Kiriyaam [Kiryattal] Charna or Sudra Náyars it can

be taken by all other Náýars, male or female, without offending against the rites of inter-dining, but no Nayar, male or female, belonging to these sub-castes will eat the food cooked by any other class of Náýars

4 A high-class Nambudri male is not permitted to eat the food cooked by a Sámantan

5 A tank is polluted by the approach of a Tiyan or Cheruman only when it is actually being used by a Nambudri or a Nayar Kammálans [artisans] cast off their atmospheric pollution when they approach a house with the implements of their craft

6 The tali tying wedding—tálíkattu kalyanam—is rapidly going out of fashion, partly owing to economic causes and partly owing to a feeling that the ceremony is meaningless It was not performed, for example, in the case of Sir Sankaran Nair's three younger daughters

7 Náýar women carry umbrellas. It is the Tiyan women who carry in their hands hats of the kind mentioned on p. 21 of the paper

[The author of these interesting notes is a Náýar The title Kurup is used by some Kuriyattil Nayars, but it is not common in South Malabar The Purattu Chárna Náýars in Chirakkal and Kottayam Taluka in North Malabar also use the title and claim to rank with Kuriyattil Nayars, and not with the Purattu Chárna Náýars of South Malabar See "Malabar Gazetteer, pp. 116, 120—H. E. A. C.]

HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER IN INDIA

BY ARTHUR T. ARNALL

B SC., M INST CE, A M I E E. M I E (INDIA)

THE development of the water-power resources of a country depends not only on the facilities provided by Nature, but also on the facilities afforded by Government for the exploitation of this national asset. It also depends on the demand that exists for power within an economic transmission distance of the power sites. But it should be noted that many successful schemes have been promoted where no demand existed for power, and an outlet was provided for the energy by the establishment of new industries.

The water-power resources of India have been dealt with in more papers than one, as also have the possible outlets for such power. The question of terms under which concessions are granted by Government and the general facilities afforded by Government for water-power development have, however, been so far untouched, and for these reasons it is the intention of the present writer to devote himself largely to this aspect of the problem.

CONCESSIONS —In Great Britain the authority to develop a water-power site is obtained by means of private treaty with the various interests involved, or when necessary by an Act of Parliament, but in India the necessary rights cannot be obtained by private treaty, and procedure by legislation for such a purpose is unknown. In British India the necessary authority is obtained, on the other hand, in the form of concessions from Local Governments. The Native States of India, speaking generally, have power to grant water-power concessions within their territories on their own terms, the writer, however, does not propose to deal with the question of concessions in Native States, and restricts the scope of this paper to matters concerning the development of hydro-electric power in

British India The various Irrigations Acts* in the provinces empower Local Governments to use and control for public purposes the waters of all rivers and streams flowing in natural channels. Local Governments also have powers to acquire land under the Land Acquisition Act† for water-power schemes, and to transfer such land on terms to a company.

Before a concession for a water-power scheme is granted, it is necessary for the applicant to put up a definite scheme, and for this purpose the Local Government will usually grant a conditional prior claim to the power site for a period of three years, with the necessary authority to enable the promoters to enter upon, survey, dig trial pits to prove foundations, and make all other necessary investigations to outline the project.

LAND ACQUISITION—Before the provisions of the Land Acquisition Act can be put into force, there must be an enquiry by an officer appointed by the Local Government into the questions—(a) whether the proposed acquisition is needed for the construction of some work, 'and (b) whether such work is likely to prove useful to the public.' If the Government officer reports affirmatively on both points, the company must then enter into an agreement with the Secretary of State for India in Council, which shall cover to the satisfaction of the Local Government the terms and conditions on which the land shall be held by the company. The interpretation of the words 'likely to prove useful to the public,' occurring in the Act, has been the subject of much discussion. There is no definition of what constitutes a public purpose in the Act, nor any limitation regarding what is likely to prove useful to the public. Both these matters are left to the absolute discretion of the Local Government‡ at the enquiry held under Section 40 of the Act, and once a decision has been given it is not open to appeal. The difficulty which arises upon such a state of things is obvious, for what may appear to one Government servant likely to prove useful to the public may not appear to another in the same light. One man may give

* *E.g.*, the Bengal Irrigation Act, 1876 Section 6

† Land Acquisition Act 1894. Extends to the whole of British India. Amended by Section 57 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910.

‡ *Esra v Secretary of State* (1902), Indian Law Reports, 30 Calcutta Series.

a much wider interpretation to the words of the Act than the other. The applicant for a concession may therefore be in very considerable doubt as to the points on which he will have to satisfy the officer holding the enquiry when the time arrives, after the flotation of the company, for the enquiry to be held. The promoter of a water-power scheme for the public supply of electric power, which it is clear from the outset is a public utility undertaking, is not in doubt in this matter, but the position is not clear, for example, in the case of a water-power scheme for the supply of power exclusively for the purposes of an electrochemical industry. Yet the development of such industries is a matter of great interest to the country.

The question whether it should not be possible to acquire land under the Land Acquisition Act for companies for industrial purposes pure and simple was debated before the Indian Industrial Commission*. While the Commission was uncertain whether the Act needed revision,† it recommended that a Local Government should acquire land on behalf of an industrial concern when it is satisfied—(1) that the industry itself will, on reaching a certain stage of development, be in the 'interest' of the general public, and (2) that there are no reasonable prospects of the industry reaching such a stage of development without the acquisition proposed. This recommendation is receiving attention, and it is possible that rules may be issued to regulate the application of the Act in what may at present be viewed as doubtful cases. Due consideration will no doubt be given to the requirements of water-power schemes for purposes which might not be considered "useful" to the public at large, but which are nevertheless of "public interest."

Other matters in respect of which the position has not yet crystallized and on which it would appear desirable that rules should be issued are—(a) the terms and conditions which properly belong to water-power concessions, and (b) the terms and conditions which should properly be inserted in agreements

* Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-1918), Chapter XIII.

† According to Section 41 (5) of the Act, the Local Government is required to insert in the agreement with the Secretary of State "the terms on which the public shall be entitled to use the work." This clause of the Act may need amendment.

for the compulsory acquisition of land for water-power schemes. The important point to observe in this matter is that a company is floated on the concession granted by Government, and it is only after the flotation that the agreement with the Secretary of State can be drafted and signed for the acquisition of land under the Land Acquisition Act. The promoter, therefore, should know exactly how he stands, as regards the terms and conditions for the compulsory purchase of land, when taking up a concession and before the flotation of his company. He should be in a position to inform the investing public fully on all the liabilities which the undertaking will involve. To effect this the terms and conditions that are to be inserted in the land agreement, to be entered into after the flotation of the company, should follow strictly defined lines in accordance with the Land Acquisition Act and rules under that Act, and should be the same for water-power schemes as for all other cases where the provisions of the Act are put into force. If in addition to these terms and conditions, Government considers it proper that further terms and conditions should be imposed on the development of water-power resources, it should state such additional terms and conditions in the concession, so that the promoter and the investing public shall know their full liabilities at the date of flotation of the company. There have been instances, within the knowledge of the writer, of terms being discussed in the drafting of agreements for the compulsory acquisition of land for water-power schemes which had not been as clearly stated as they should have been before the flotation of the company, which should have been set forth fully in the original concession, and which did not properly belong to the land agreement at all. For an example of terms which do not properly belong to the land acquisition agreement in which they have been inserted, one may refer to the agreement, dated November 25, 1919, published in the Supplement to the Bombay Government Gazette, December 25, 1919, entered into between the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co., Ltd., and the Secretary of State, for the acquisition of land for the company's hydraulic works, generating station, transmission lines, and construction railway. Under this agreement the company is not only required to pay the usual compensation for the land, but also to pay to

Government a further sum equal to the total cost of such compensation, for the purpose of rehabilitating the disturbed spot elsewhere. It may be the opinion of some that such an additional payment, which in this case may amount to as much as £100,000, should and can be borne by water-power undertakings in India, but what the writer wishes to point out is that such terms, if justifiable, should not appear in land agreement, but form part of the terms of the concession.

The mineral policy of the Government of India is an example of a policy governing the granting of concessions which has crystallized into definite form. Here Government has realized that to attract the investor stability of policy is necessary, and it has issued rules for the grant of mineral concessions, applicable throughout British India, which are so framed as not to leave doubt in the mind of any investor as to the conditions governing the development of the mineral resources of India.

LICENCE FOR SUPPLY OF ELECTRICITY—In addition to the concession and the land acquisition agreement, the power company in most cases will need a licence granted by the Local Government under the Indian Electricity Act of 1910. Such a licence would be required by a company which proposed to undertake the business of supplying electric energy to the public generally within specified areas, but it would not be necessary in every case, and would not, for example, be required by an undertaking supplying power exclusively to a number of electrochemical factories located adjacent to the generating station.

TRANSMISSION LINES—For the construction of transmission lines from the generating station to distant areas of supply, the Governor-General in Council has authority* to confer upon a licensee such of the powers which the telegraph authority possess under the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, as may be necessary†. These powers cannot be conferred upon non-licensees, and if a company desires to transmit power in bulk to distant towns and electrochemical factories, it may be

* Under Section 51 of the Indian Electricity Act, 1910.

† Authority to erect power transmission lines should be given under the Indian Electricity Act, and not by reference to the Indian Telegraph Act, which deals with an altogether different class of voltage and poles, and the Indian Electricity Act should be amended accordingly.

necessary for the company to obtain a licence, although it does not contemplate the actual distribution of the power to the public. For important lines, transmitting power to large industrial centres or to railways, it will generally be found desirable to purchase a strip of land on which to erect the line, and construct a pathway for the purpose of the better protection of the public and the proper and regular inspection and maintenance of the line. Licencees should be able to obtain the necessary land for this purpose under the Land Acquisition Act, here, again, as things are at present, there may be difficulty if the line is for the transmission of power exclusively to, say, an electrochemical factory.

INTEREST DURING CONSTRUCTION—The Local Government has power under the Indian Companies Act* to sanction the payment by a registered company of interest out of capital during the period of construction, on the share capital paid up, at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent per annum, or such lower rate as the Governor-General in Council may prescribe. Before the war this limit was satisfactory, and the flotation of large water-power schemes practicable. In recent years, however, Government has issued many large loans in India at $5\frac{1}{2}$ to $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, income tax free, and the present position of a promoter of a large water-power scheme, which will take four to five years to construct, is a very difficult one. Companies incorporated in Great Britain under the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, are also limited to the payment of interest out of capital during construction, at a rate not exceeding 4 per cent per annum, but companies in Great Britain undertaking large water-power schemes are usually constituted under private Acts of Parliament, and can in that way obtain special powers in this and in other respects. The writer considers that the Indian Companies Act should be amended to permit of a higher rate of interest being paid.

Work is the one great requirement of the times, and adhesion to this 4 per cent limit, which was copied from the English Act and fixed under totally different circumstances from those ruling now, has a throttling effect on many schemes which would go far towards providing that work. A large water-power scheme, for example, cannot be carried out with-

* Indian Companies Act, 1913, Section 107

out creating work in countless different ways. It employs a large amount of staff and labour locally for a number of years in the construction of the works, prospective consumers of the power build new factories and extend old ones, large orders are placed for hydraulic and electrical plant and materials, and when the scheme is complete, a new and permanent demand is created for staff and labour for the operation of the power scheme and for the numerous industries, themselves in turn reproductive, brought into existence by the new supply of cheap power. Cheap electrical energy is one of the most valuable 'raw materials' of modern times, and every factor contributing to its development should receive the serious attention of Government.

It may be suggested that the necessary authority for developing large water-power schemes in India should be obtained by means of private legislation, as in Great Britain, if exceptional powers are necessary. Such procedure is at present unknown in India, and, until the Legislative Councils have had time to develop it cannot be assumed that the decision of a Parliamentary Committee would be automatically accepted by the Legislative Council in the same way as similar decisions are accepted automatically in Great Britain. Even in Great Britain this procedure is open to criticism, only recently the Water-Power Resources Committee of the Board of Trade expressed the view* that a prominent factor in arresting the wider development of water-power schemes in Great Britain is the costly, protracted and inefficient system of obtaining the necessary authority by means of a private Bill.

COMPULSORY PURCHASE—The local authority, or in certain circumstances the Local Government, has the option of compulsorily purchasing a licensed undertaking after the expiration of a period not exceeding fifty years from the date of commencement of the licence, at a sum equal to the fair market value of the lands, buildings, works, materials, and plant of the undertaking at the time of purchase, but excluding the generating station unless it is declared in the licence as forming part of the undertaking for the purpose of compulsory purchase. The Indian Electricity Act is not clear as to

* Board of Trade Water Power Resources Committee, Interim Report, February 10, 1919.

whether the term "generating station" includes all the lands, reservoirs, and other hydraulic works of a water-power undertaking. There should be no doubt in this important matter, and the Act should be made clear.

LOCHABER WATER-POWER ACT—As an illustration of terms obtainable in Great Britain for the development of water-power it will be of interest to make some reference to the Lochaber Water-Power Act, 1921, an Act to incorporate the Lochaber Power Company and to confer powers to enable that company to develop an 80,000 horse-power scheme in Scotland, with the primary object of supplying power for the smelting of aluminium. The Bill was debated in the House and passed by a large majority and the Act may be regarded as a model piece of legislation for establishing a water-power undertaking in Great Britain. Under it the company has power to borrow on mortgage of the undertaking up to a sum not exceeding one-half of the share capital issued, and power to pay interest out of capital during the period of construction at a rate not exceeding 8 per cent., it has a period of five years from the commencement of the Act within which to exercise its powers of compulsory purchase of land, and a period of ten years within which to complete the works. The terms for the purchase of the undertaking by the Board of Trade after periods of thirty and sixty years from the date of commencement of supply are also worthy of special note. If the purchase is made before the expiration of sixty years, the price to be paid is the fair market value of the complete undertaking as a going concern, and compensation to any company or person who suffers loss in consequence of the termination of their contract for supply of power from the undertaking. If the purchase is made after the expiration of sixty years, the price to be paid is a sum equal to the amount of the capital expended on the undertaking less the value of any physical deterioration, and compensation to the aluminium company, if that company suffers loss by reason of the termination of its contract for supply of power from the undertaking. It will be agreed that the terms and conditions obtainable in Great Britain for the development of water-power schemes are distinctly encouraging, and it might be added that the terms for the compulsory acquisition of land for water-power companies in Great Britain

are the same as the terms for the compulsory acquisition of land for other purposes. There is no question of rehabilitating the displaced peasants and farmers elsewhere at an additional cost to the power company.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE—A large water-power scheme takes several years to construct, and a period of four to five years must necessarily elapse before the undertaking is complete. Owing to this and other great difficulties in the way of financing such schemes at the present time from private sources, various suggestions have been made as to how the State might give financial assistance. Probably three of the most interesting and feasible suggestions are

1 That the Government Department which is charged with the duty of developing water-power might be provided with a fund for the purpose of starting enterprises with the approval of the Treasury * (Such a fund, for example, might be used to make advances to undertakings, to be redeemed within an agreed period of, say, twenty years.)

2 That the State, after careful investigation, might guarantee a suitable minimum interest on the necessary capital, sharing at the same time in any profits beyond the amount necessary to provide that interest †

3 That a local authority might take up shares in the electric supply undertaking of its district sufficient to make it the important or predominant shareholder ‡

As regards the last suggestion, which is stated to have been working satisfactorily in Germany before the war it is claimed that in this way the public authority would protect the public and give the company the benefit of its superior credit, while at the same time the benefits of private enterprise would be preserved. If this system were adopted in India, the authority to hold the shares would be the Local Government which is in a position to guide the ultimate economic development of large systems of interconnected generating stations supplying power to a number of towns and industrial centres, the actual distribution of the energy to the public being undertaken, if desired, by municipalities within the limits of their respective areas.

* Board of Trade Water Power Resources Committee, Second Interim Report, June 5 1920

† Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies (London) Water Power Committee Preliminary Report, July 1918

‡ Second Report on the Water Power Resources of India (Government of India), 1920

It is doubtful however, whether Governments or municipalities for many years to come will have funds which can be put to such a purpose, and particularly so in India, where so much money is urgently needed for the improvement and extension of irrigation schemes, roads, railways, and town water-supplies and drainage works. Further, these suggestions seem to be based on the assumption that, short of giving financial assistance, Government has already gone as far as it can to meet the promoter of water-power schemes.

This can hardly be claimed to be so in India, where Government's policy with respect to the development of its water-power resources has not had time to crystallize. The more expeditious way for the present of encouraging the development of India's water-powers lies in inducing Government to review its policy regarding water-power concessions, with the object of seeing how it can be stabilized and how water-power concessions can be made more attractive in future, rather than in attempting to obtain financial assistance from a Government already hard pressed to find funds for other and perhaps more urgent public works. If Government is in a position to render financial assistance in the development of the country's water-powers, that assistance could best be given in the construction of the roads and railways, which are usually necessary in any large scheme and are works which eventually can be opened to general public use, and also in the rehabilitation, where considered proper, of the ryot displaced from areas submerged by storage reservoirs.

WATER-POWER RESOURCES AND SURVEYS—During and since the war the question of developing the water-power resources of the British Empire has received a great deal of prominence and attention. The Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies in London formed a Water-Power Committee to report on what is at present being done to ascertain the amount and distribution of water-power in the British Empire, and three reports were submitted.* The Board of Trade appointed a Water-Power Resources Committee in 1918 to examine and report on the water-power resources of the United Kingdom,

* Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies (London) Water Power Committee, Preliminary Report July, 1918, Second Report, March, 1918, Third Report, January, 1921.

the terms of reference being subsequently enlarged, and the Committee was directed to consider and report 'what steps should be taken to ensure that the water resources of the country are properly conserved and fully and systematically utilized for all purposes'. This Committee has issued four reports *. A separate report † was issued for Ireland.

The Indian Industrial Commission appointed by the Government of India in May 1916, to examine and report on the possibilities of further industrial development in India, recommended in its report ‡ that Government should make a systematic survey of the country to ascertain what hydro-electric possibilities exist. Acting on this suggestion, two eminent engineers were appointed § in 1918, with instructions to look into the question and to make recommendations as to how the work should be carried out. After these officers had made a tour over India and Burma a preliminary report || was published in 1919. It was then decided that the survey should be carried out in each province under the orders of the Local Government, in consultation with the two officers appointed by the Government of India to take charge of the whole survey. The survey is now proceeding on these lines and a second report ¶ was published in 1920.

The Indian water-power survey has up to the present disclosed the existence of over 130 possible water-power sites of which however only a small percentage have been thoroughly examined. It is estimated that there is a total of 1 774,000 continuous electrical horse-power already in sight in India. This is vastly below the actual available power that final results of the survey will disclose. Many millions of horse-power could certainly be obtained from the Himalayan Mountains and the great rivers of Burma. For example, the combined

* Board of Trade Water Power Resources Committee, Interim Report February 10 1919, Second Interim Report, June 5, 1920. Third Interim Report (Tidal Power) December 1 1920, Final Report, November 17, 1921.

† Board of Trade Report of the Water Power Resources of Ireland Sub Committee December 6 1920.

‡ Report of the Indian Industrial Commission (1916-1918), Chapter VI.

§ The late Mr G. T. Barlow, C. I. E. Chief Engineer, Irrigation Branch, United Provinces, and Mr J. W. Meares, M. I. N. S. T. C. E., Electrical Adviser to the Government of India.

|| Preliminary Report on the Water Power Resources of India 1919.

¶ Second Report on the Water Power Resources of India, 1920.

minimum discharges of the Indus, Chenab, Jhelum, Sutlej, Beas, Jumna, and Ravi Rivers amounts to over 36,000 cubic feet a second where they enter the plains,* which is equivalent to over 3,000,000 horse-power per 1,000 feet of fall, and these rivers and the tributaries that feed them rise in mountains up to 20,000 feet or more in altitude. Similar considerations apply to the Ganges, the Sarda, and many rivers rising outside British India to the east up to the Brahmaputra, and again in Burma to the Irrawaddy and the Salween. The bulk of these tremendous resources will however, remain untouched for many years, until electrical engineers develop means of transmitting energy economically up to distances as great as 500 to 1,000 miles. This is not improbable. Fifty years ago, one would have viewed the economic transmission of electrical energy up to distances as great as 250 miles as equally improbable yet we do that now.

Table I gives a list of the existing hydro-electric plants in India, totalling 91,325 electric horse-power installed and Table II a list of plants being installed, totalling 148,750 electrical horse-power. It may be noted that, out of a total capacity of 240,075 electrical horse-power of plant installed and under construction in India, 189,000 electrical horse-power, or 79 per cent. of the total for India, is for the supply of power to Bombay City, and is due to the enterprise of an Indian firm, Messrs Tata Sons of Bombay. The development of water-power in Bombay will be referred to later in detail.

TABLE I—EXISTING HYDRO ELECTRIC PLANTS IN INDIA

	Installed Electrical Horse Power
Bengal	
Darjeeling Municipality	600
Bombay	
Bhatghar Dam	300
Gokak Water Power Co	2 100
Tata Hydro-Electric P S Co	50 000
Burma	
Burma Ruby Mines	560
Kanbank Wolfram Mine	500
Kashmir	
Jammu Power Installation	910
Jhelum Power Installation	5,360
Madras	
Government Cordite Factory	1 350

* Preliminary Report on the Water Power Resources of India, 1919, p. 47

	Installed, Electrical Horse Power
Mysore	
Cauvery Power Scheme	22,650
North West Frontier	
Malakhand Canal	330
Patiala	
Patiala H E Scheme	285
Punjab	
Amritsar H E Works	270
New Egerton Woollen Mills	900
Simla Municipality	1,680
Travancore	
Puhvassal H E Scheme	530
United Provinces	
Ganges Head works	600
Mussoorie Municipality	2 400
Total	91,325

TABLE II—HYDRO-ELECTRIC PLANTS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

	Plant being Installed Electrical Horse Power
Bombay	
Andhra Valley P S Co	64 000
Tata Power Co	75,000 *
Sikkim	
Burn and Co's project	No details
Burma	
Burma Mines, Ltd	9,750
Total	148,750

It was not the intention of the Government of India on appointing the survey officers that they should design complete hydro-electric schemes, and the objects of the survey for the present are limited to ascertaining—(1) where water-power can be developed, (2) how much power can be developed, (3) on what lines the development should proceed, and (4) whether a particular development will be (comparatively speaking) a cheap one, a moderately expensive one, a very expensive or, perhaps, prohibitive one † It is doubtful whether Government can do more than this, because to justify expenditure on the design of a power scheme in detail a substantial market for the power must be assured and a knowledge of the requirements of that market ascertained These are generally difficult and complex problems, involving a great deal of private

* The first stage of development The final stage will be 150 000 electrical horse power

† The Hydro Electric Survey of India," by J W Meares, *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour*, May 1921, p 149

negotiation with manufacturing firms, and should be left to private promoters. Further, whatever information may be provided by Government, a company undertaking a scheme must depend upon its own engineers for the correctness of the design from a commercial point of view. Certain details such as the profile of a dam are, however, subject to the approval of Government before the work is put in hand, the object of this approval being to ensure that the works have been so designed and shall be so constructed as not to be a source of danger to the public, or interfere with existing rights.

Information valuable to the water-power engineer already exists in India, in maps published by the Government Survey and in the rainfall and river gauging records of the Meteorological and Irrigation Departments. The Survey Department has published a survey on a scale of one inch to the mile of the whole of the country, including Native States, which is very accurate and gives all necessary levels and points on which to base a detail survey of any part. This survey is undergoing revision, and the new survey sheets give definite contours from which generally, a rough idea can at once be formed of the possibilities of a water-power site when studied in conjunction with available rainfall records.

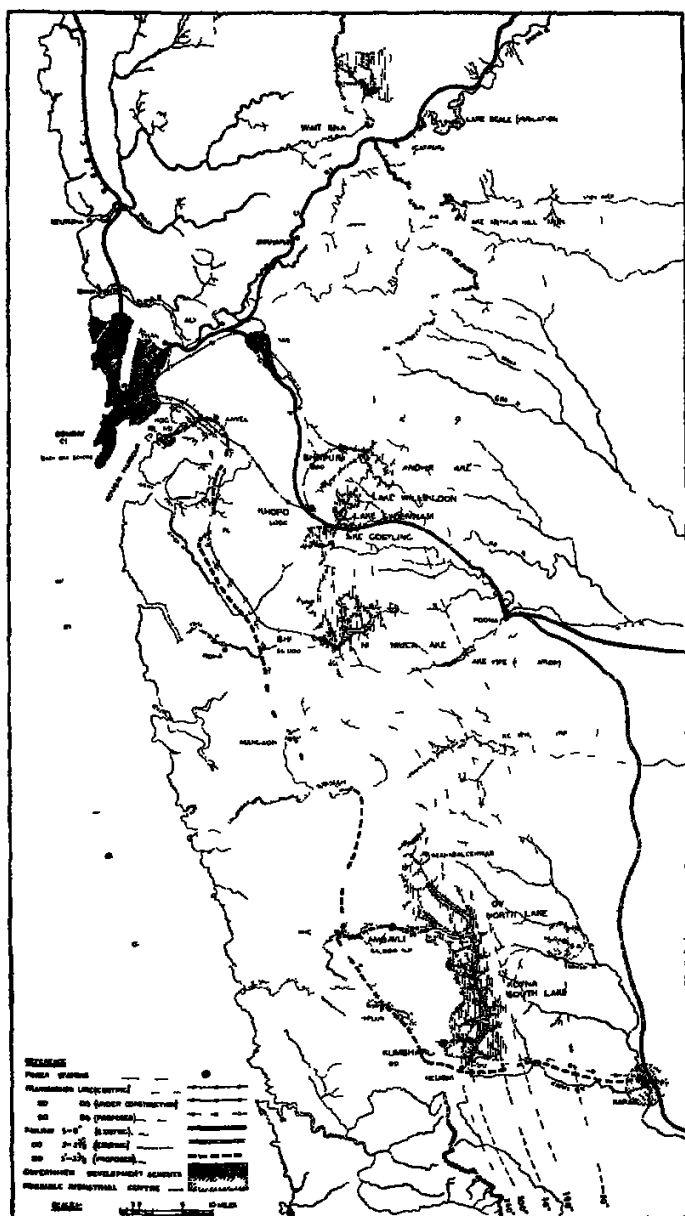
Accurate records extending over a large number of years, of the intensity and amount of rainfall, together with river-gauging records, are essential for the proper design of water-power schemes. A great deal of information on these subjects has already been recorded by the Meteorological and Irrigation Departments, and by railway companies, tea-gardens, and other private concerns, but it is desirable that all existing information should be compiled in a general statement and early steps taken to supplement it by establishing additional rainfall and river gauging stations over promising water-power districts. This important matter is receiving the attention of Government, and in a few years all essential information for the development of India's water-powers should be available in a concise form for general public use.

An interesting feature of the Final Report of the Water-Power Resources Committee of the Board of Trade is the Report therein published of the Water Resources Sub-Committee, under the Chairmanship of Dr J F Crowley, on the

compilation and recording of data. The system therein outlined and illustrated has much that should recommend it to the attention of the Government of India, with a view to adoption in India. Such a system started in the early stages of the water-power survey of a country would go a long way in simplifying the work of the survey, and in presenting its results to the public in a concise and comprehensive form.

WATER-POWERS OF THE WESTERN GHATS—It has already been pointed out that a great deal of detailed information is available from various sources on the present knowledge of India's water-power resources, and on the uses to which those resources might be put. But as an illustration of the importance of their development in the interests of the industrial progress of India, the writer will give a brief outline of what has been and is being done to harness the water-powers of the Western Ghats. We have seen that the hydro-electric schemes constructed and under construction in the Western Ghats constitute about 80 per cent. of the total hydro-electric undertakings in hand in India and Burma, and form by far the greatest development of water-power in the East. It is partly because of this, and partly because the writer has for many years been personally connected with the construction of these hydro-electric undertakings, and is therefore more familiar with them than with similar undertakings in other parts of India, that he has selected them for a brief description.

The accompanying map and Table III give a general outline and particulars of the existing and contemplated hydro-electric undertakings in the Western Ghats, and their location with respect to Bombay City, the railway systems, and contemplated new industrial centres, contours of the average annual rainfall in inches over the catchment areas of the water-power schemes are also given. There are four hydro-electric schemes under the managing agency of Messrs Tata Sons, Ltd.—namely, the undertakings of the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co., the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Supply Co. and the Tata Power Co., and the Koyna River project. These four schemes completed would be capable of supplying Bombay City and neighbourhood with 915,000 electrical horse-power (for 3,600 hours each year) at a maximum charge of $\frac{3}{4}$ anna (or three-farthings) per unit. A much less



charge than this is, of course, feasible for electrometallurgical and electrochemical industries located near the power stations. It will be observed that each scheme, for the present, is being undertaken by a separate company, but that all are under the same management, and, it may be added, there are working agreements between the several companies. There is, therefore, no overlapping of interests or duplication of systems in the distribution of the energy to the public, a state of affairs which does exist in many parts of Great Britain, where a number of power companies supply power in the same areas, with the result that the public have to pay more for their supply of electricity than would otherwise be the case. In fact, one of the primary objects of the newly appointed Electricity Commissioners is to unravel this unfortunate state into which the electric supply of Great Britain has drifted. We will now consider each scheme indicated on the map in order from north to south, and then review the development of Bombay City, the market for this great source of power.

The Igatpuri project, which is not as yet designed in detail may find an outlet for its power in the electrification of the Thull Ghat section of the G I P Railway near Igatpuri, and in providing power for industries at Igatpuri, in the Deccan, where there is one of the finest all-the-year-round climates for industrial labour in peninsular India. Nasik, a few miles from Igatpuri, at present chiefly famous for its golf-course is an *extremely ancient and important Indian town and on account of its position and delightful and constant climate was once suggested as a site for the capital of India*. More recently it has been suggested as a site where the Government of Bombay could establish permanent headquarters. As regards the power site, the writer believes that a catchment area of about 60 square miles can be utilized, with a head of 1,000 feet on the turbines and an available storage capacity of some 3,000 million cubic feet in the proposed reservoirs. The scheme is probably capable of an output of 20,000 electrical horse-power *ex* power-house for 3,600 hours per annum.

The Andhra Valley Power Supply Co's undertaking has been under construction about five years, and is now nearing completion, and will commence the supply of power to the public in a few months' time. The entire project was designed

TABLE III—EXISTING AND CONTEMPLATED WATER POWER SCHEMES IN THE WESTERN GHATS

	Igatpur Project	Andhra Valley P S Co Ltd	Tata Hydro Electric P S Co Ltd	Tata Power Co, Ltd	Koyna Project	
					North Lake	South Lake
Capital (issued) Rs. (lakhs)	—	210	270	450	—	—
Mortgage Debiture Bonds	—	—	85	—	—	—
Date of incorporation	—	Aug, 1916	Nov, 1910	Sept, 1919	—	—
Commencement of supply	—	—	Feb., 1915	—	—	—
Catchment area (square miles)	58.8	49	22	97	182	164
Reservoir storage (million cubic feet)	4,000	15,000	9,840	18,000	42,000	30,000
Static head on turbines (feet)	1,000	1,730	1,725	1,700	1,900	1,600
Power delivered to Bombay for 3,600 hours each year (H P)	—	65,000	50,000 (a)	150,000 (b)	400,000	250,000
Water discharge from power house (million gallons per day)	—	120	100	300	700	450
Transmission distance to City of Bombay (miles)	—	56	43	77	131	150
Units sold per annum (1919-20)	—	—	95,257,166	—	—	—

The power is generated at 5,000 volts, 3 phase, 50 cycles, and transmitted to Bombay at 100,000 volts

(a) Capable of extension

(b) The initial installation will be for 75,000 horse power only

by Mr H P Gibbs, a director of Messrs Tata Sons, and carried out under his supervision by his staff in Bombay. After the flotation of the company and commencement of works, he was assisted by the late Sir Michael Nethersole, Inspector-General of Irrigation in India, who was appointed Chief Hydraulic Engineer to the company upon his retirement from Government service. The generating plant consists of six 8,000 kilowatt sets, generating current at 5,000 volts, 50 cycles. The energy will be transmitted to Bombay City at 100,000 volts, over a transmission line 56 miles in length where it will be transformed down to 20 000 volts and distributed at that pressure to the consumers by underground cables. The company realizing that war and post-war prices for plant and materials would greatly increase the development costs over and above the estimates was able through equitable co-operation with the Bombay mill-owners to secure a contract price of 0 725 anna per unit for the supply at 20 000 volts. The mill-owners will bear the cost of transforming from that pressure to 2 000 volts, the standard pressure for mill-driving in the city, and provide and install their own electrical equipment for driving the mills. The whole output of this undertaking is sold, and the success of the enterprise well assured.

The Tata Hydro-Electric Power Co's undertaking has been in operation for six years. A detailed description of this scheme was given in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts in April, 1918, by Mr Alfred Dickinson, Consulting Engineer to the company. It was the first scheme of such magnitude to be undertaken in India and its success is largely responsible for the very extensive development of water-power in the Western Ghats now in progress. It is at present supplying the cotton industry of Bombay with an average load of about 40,000 horse-power. A charge of 0 5 anna per unit is made for the supply of energy at 2,000 volts and a charge of 0 55 anna per unit for supply including the equipment of the mills by the power company with motors, cables, switch-gear, starters, etc., and their complete upkeep. The company is paying a dividend on the ordinary share capital at from 7 to 8 per cent per annum.

The construction of the Tata Power Co's undertaking also originated and designed by Mr Gibbs, was commenced in

1919, and is being carried out by the company's own construction staff under the advice of the Tata Engineering Co., consulting engineers to the project. It is designed for the ultimate supply of 150,000 horse-power to the City of Bombay, but for the present only sufficient plant will be installed for the supply of 75,000 horse-power. Applications aggregating to 50,000 horse-power have already been registered on the waiting list of this undertaking, which, interconnected with the Andhra Valley and Tata Hydro-Electric schemes, will assist in the supply of power for the electrification of the Bombay City, suburban, and Ghat sections of the railways. An unfortunate delay has occurred in the construction of this undertaking, arising out of an active opposition on the part of the inhabitants of the lands that will be submerged by the storage reservoir to the acquisition of their properties. On account of this opposition the construction of the main dam and other hydraulic works has been suspended by the company, with the object of effecting a friendly settlement to the dispute. The principle involved—namely, that of the compulsory acquisition of land for public purposes—is one of such paramount importance to the progress of India that one looks to the support of all shades of political opinion locally to assist in a solution. It is only fair to add that the inhabitants of the valley directly concerned are only partly responsible for the trouble, and that they, under the exceptional terms of the acquisition and on account of the large demand the works will create for labour, will benefit considerably by the carrying out of the scheme.

The Koyna River project, originated and investigated by the writer, is capable of an output of 650,000 electrical horse-power (for 3,600 hours each year), and is intended to provide energy for electrometallurgical and electrochemical industries located near the power stations, for public electric supply in Bombay City, as an extension to the supply from the existing three power-supply companies' undertakings, and for public electric supply to all towns within economic range of electric power transmission. The proposal to establish electrometallurgical and electrochemical industries at the Koyna site is the first comprehensive scheme of its kind thoroughly investigated in India, and in connection with this scheme Messrs Tata

Sons and their associates in the project have incurred considerable expense in having it thoroughly examined and surveyed, and in obtaining and thoroughly proving the necessary mineral deposits to complete the scheme in all its essential features. As stated in the *Times Trade Supplement* February 21, 1920, 'there is every reason to anticipate that the Tata concern, having created a large industrial centre in a remote jungle area of Bihar for iron and steel production will be instrumental in creating one of the largest factory centres in India for electro-chemical industries

DEVELOPMENT OF BOMBAY —Reference has already been made to the important bearing that an existing or assured market for power has on the question of water-power development. It will therefore be of interest to review the development of Bombay City and its relation to the Western Ghats power resources

Bombay City is the premier port of India, has a population of about 1,200,000 and is by far the most important centre of cotton spinning and weaving in India. The traffic in and out of the city over the railways in 1913-14 was 4,872,000 tons, and the total value of the trade of its port in 1918-19 was £164,044,060, in private and Government merchandise.

The chief industry of the city is, of course, the spinning and weaving of cotton, but there are many important woollen and flour mills, general engineering and railway workshops, oil mills and chemical factories. In the year 1916 there were 266 cotton mills in India containing 6,839,877 spindles and 110,268 looms, and employing on an average 274,361 hands daily; of these, Bombay City possessed 86 mills, containing 2,984,575 spindles and 53,205 looms and employed 118,303 hands. If this number of spindles and looms in Bombay City in 1916 had been driven electrically, they would have required a supply of approximately 100,000 electrical horse-power.

The foregoing figures show that nearly half of the spinning and weaving of cotton in India is concentrated in Bombay City. At present about 1,000,000 bales of cotton are consumed annually by the city mills, and in addition about 1,700,000 bales are exported from its port. It is obvious that this industry will expand indefinitely, if proper industrial town-

planning schemes are carried out, for Bombay City and its neighbourhood offer all necessary facilities in an abundant and cheap supply of raw materials cheap power a suitable climate, experienced labour, low transport charges by sea and land, and in possessing one of the largest markets for cotton goods in existence It is already the largest centre of the cotton industry in India, and when one considers the conditions under which the 300,000,000 population of India at present exist, one is impressed with the great future lying before the cotton industry of Bombay City Table IV gives the growth of the spinning and weaving of cotton in the city during the last fifty years

TABLE IV—BOMBAY CITY COTTON MILLS.

Year ending June 30	No of Mills	Spindles.	Looms	Hands employed Daily	Cotton consumed (Bales of 392 lbs)
1865	10	249,984	3 378	6 557	No record
1870	10	290 920	4,090	8 103	
1875	27	752 634	7 781	13 551	
1880	32	987 676	10,856	29 417	
1885	49	1,347 390	12 011	41 545	
1890	70	1 895 660	13 785	59 139	636 234
1895	69	2 123 892	20 217	75 740	815 394
1900	82	2 536 891	22 215	72 914	744 800
1905	81	2 516 916	28 073	92,924	1 072 452
1910	89	2 824 046	41 931	104,550	953 450
1913	90	2 925 966	43,250	110 033	1 072 210
1916	86	2,984 575	53 205	118 303	1,096,174
1919	86	2 934,476	60 778	126 368	999 756

Sir George Curtis, in a paper read before the Royal Society of Arts in June, 1921 on the Development of Bombay detailed schemes now taken in hand by the Government of Bombay, the City Improvement Trust, the Municipality, and the Port Trust, under the far seeing leadership of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, which will cost a total of 30 crores of rupees, or roughly £20,000,000, to complete This will convey a good impression of the rapid and extensive expansion at present going on in the city The Government schemes are being carried out by the newly created Development Department, under Sir Lawless Hepper, Director of Develop-

ment, and consist chiefly of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme, which is intended to reduce congestion in the southern portion of the city, supply residential accommodation for the higher classes, and meet the requirements of the Military Department, an industrial housing scheme of 50,000 one-roomed tenements for the working classes, residential and industrial town-planning schemes on the islands of Salsette and Trombay, and industrial town-planning schemes outside the city boundaries. For many years the city had suffered from a marked shortage of housing accommodation especially for the working classes, and it is estimated that during and since the war the population of the city has increased by 25 per cent, owing to the increase in demand for labour. The Government includes in its town-planning schemes the laying out of a new industrial town at Ambarnath Station on the G I P Railway some 30 miles from the city. This scheme will probably prove the first step towards a real solution of the congestion in Bombay, which exists mainly in the working classes quarter. The new industrial town will obtain abundant supplies of water from the discharge of the Andhra Valley Power Supply Co.'s power-house, lie adjacent to one of the big electric power transmission lines, from which it can draw cheap power, have adequate road and railway facilities, and will be capable of unlimited expansion. Although the scheme was only initiated early in 1921, sites for three factories had been definitely allotted by March, 1921.*

Other areas, not included in the scope of Government's present programme, are indicated on the accompanying map, where it is possible that new industries may be established. The sites on the Deccan at Igatpuri, Poona, Satara and Karad, all lying about 2,000 feet above sea-level, have special claim in offering a much superior all-the-year round climate for industrial work than Bombay City, Ambarnath, and other Konkan sites. (The Konkan is the lowlying strip of land between the Western Ghats and the sea.) It has been claimed that labour is 25 per cent more efficient in such a climate as that of Igatpuri than in the Bombay City or Konkan climate. In addition to this, all these sites, Igatpuri, Poona, Satara, and

* Report on the Working of the Development Department for the period ending March 31, 1921, Bombay Development Department.

Karad, can obtain abundant supplies of cheap power and water from the Western Ghats, are well served with roads and railways, and can tap new sources of labour. Satara, Karad, Khed, and Chiplun are possible sites for electrometallurgical, electrochemical, and other industries dependent upon electric power from the Koyna scheme.

The map also gives the alignment of a projected railway, originally proposed many years ago, running from the Deccan at Karad on the existing Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway, down the Western Ghats near Kumbharli, and then along the Konkan past the Koyna and Tata Power Co's schemes to Hog Island, on the east side of Bombay Harbour, where there is a favourable site for an all-the-year-round ferry across the harbour to the existing port. The primary object of this line was to facilitate the transport of labour between Bombay City and its main sources along the Konkan. The development of water-power along the Western Ghats and the proposed establishment of industries on the Konkan have created new interest in this railway project, and it was surveyed by the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway Co. in 1920, under the authority of the Railway Board. The construction of the line, with a connection to the G. I. P. Railway near Kalyan, would make a considerable and desirable improvement to the existing indifferent communications along the Konkan, especially during the monsoon season when the small ports of the Konkan are not accessible, and greatly assist the growth of industries by facilitating the transport of labour and goods. It would also open up an additional route from Bombay to the railway systems of South India.

For many reasons it is desirable that industries at such an important and growing centre as the port of Bombay should not be concentrated in one place. To minimize the effect of labour troubles alone, it is better to split up the industrial population into comparatively small and separated towns, and it is probable that industries will in time spring up at all the centres indicated, each centre offering its own special advantages.

The development of Bombay and the development of the Western Ghats water-powers are to a great extent interdependent, and it is doubtful whether the ambitious development

schemes initiated by Government in 1920 would have been so fully justified had it not been for the existence of the immense resources of cheap water-power in the Western Ghats one of the greatest water-power resources of the world. Bombay has no hope of a cheap supply of coal, and has to depend upon coal railed and shipped over great distances. The importance of water-power to Bombay City was brought forcibly home during the war, when the railways and shipping were worked to their utmost limit for war purposes. Anyone acquainted with conditions in Bombay during the war will realize the disaster that would have overtaken its industries had, under such conditions, those industries depended upon, say, 250,000 electrical horse-power generated from coal. Yet in very few years now Bombay industries and railways will depend upon that amount of electric power.

This brief review of the development of Bombay is sufficient to emphasize the great public importance of the development of the water-power resources of the Western Ghats. It may fairly be claimed that the prosperity and happiness of the population for many hundreds of miles round Bombay City will in time be measured by the extent to which the great water-powers of the Western Ghats are developed and utilized. To effect this development every possible encouragement and assistance must be given by Government, and some important amendments made to existing laws. The attitude of those politicians who are inclined to urge the ryots not to yield up their land for essential works, even on the basis of adequate compensation will also have to be modified. If this paper draws the attention of Government to these important matters, the aim of its author will have been served.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall Westminster on Monday, February 20, 1922 at which a lecture was given by Mr Arthur T Arnall, B SC., MINSI CE AMIEE MIE (India) entitled 'Hydro-Electric Power in India'. Sir Thomas H Holland, KCSI, KCIE occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present. The Right Hon Lord Lamington GCMG GCIE, Sir Lionel Jacob KCSI, Sir Mancherjee M Bhownagree KCIE, Sir John G Cumming KCIE CSI, Sir Francis Spring KCIE, Mr A Porteous, CIE, Mr Samuel Digby CIE, Mr A Y G Campbell CIE CBE, and Mrs Campbell. Mr F H Brown CIE, Mr D G Choudhari, Mr F J P Richter, Miss Scatterd, Miss Nina Corner, Mr G B Tadwalker, Mr D R C de Alwis, Dr J F Crowley, Mr G E A Catchatoor, Colonel Ranken, Colonel A S Roberts and Mrs Roberts, Mr W H Molesworth, Major General Beresford Lovett, Mr F Wilkins, Mr O M Rolleston, Mr A Lupton, Colonel Minshall, Mr F C Channing, Major Sothan, Mrs. A M T Jackson, Mr S P Pears, Mr C P Caspersz, Mr B Lane, Mr E Worthington, Professor and Mrs Bickerton, Dr J A Harker, Mrs and Miss Corfield, Mr A N Rau, Mr R L Narayanan, Mrs. White, Mr J Gordon, Mrs Martley, Mrs Floyd, Lieut. Colonel T S B Williams, Major W H C Coates, Mr E G Fleming, Mr H S Rooke, Mr E. E Eccles, Mr C S Thomson, Mr C E Simmonds, Mr R Hazleton, Mr C S Meik, Mr S N Bardhan, Mr S Mahadeva, and Mr Stanley Rice, Hon Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. My lord, ladies and gentlemen, more than sixteen years ago, impressed with the potential value of the newly discovered aluminium ores of India and the necessity for cheap electric power for their development, I recommended the Government of India to obtain from all the local Governments whatever information they had then available with regard to the water power resources of each Province. In a paper that was published last May in the *Journal of Indian Industries and Labour* Mr Meares, Electrical Adviser to the Government of India described the products of this inquiry as "sometimes misleading and generally inaccurate".

Nothing much more substantial was evolved by a Government agency till after the Indian Industrial Commission took up the question afresh and in 1918 urged the institution of a systematic hydro-electric survey which was inaugurated in the following cold weather. As a result of this first general reconnaissance we now know to what extent the natural resources of the country have been neglected hitherto. As President of the Industrial Commission and afterwards as the member of Government responsible for the administration of the Hydro-Electric Survey I naturally

look forward with special interest to hearing the views of a distinguished engineer who has spent some years in a detailed examination of the possible power sites of the Western Ghats. Mr Arnall is one of those who with real technical significance, see in running water one of the "raw materials" of a country, not as mere water, but as a source of inexpensive energy. The technical specialists whom I see in the audience to day will know the full meaning of the expression 'cheap electrical energy' especially in a Province like Bombay where there is practically no coal and where there is also no oil. They know how some industries can flourish only in family groups and they know also that whole families must remain absolutely undeveloped unless we can obtain energy in a mobile form at a very low rate. But the development of hydro electric power means in economic principle something very much more than mere cheap energy. It is one of those raw materials that is not used up with using. It is not like a coal mine or an oil well—what our economists call a 'wasting asset'. It is but the interception of energy provided by Nature or what has been aptly called by Mr Meares whom I referred to just now as

Nature's gift of gravity. The coal miner from the day that he starts work robs and destroys for ever the natural resources of his field: the oil driller squanders the accumulated energy of geological ages: but the hydro-electric engineer merely intercepts a product that Nature continually reproduces and by the very same process inevitably wastes at the same rate whether it is used or neglected. Now neglect to intercept this natural waste merely forces a country to draw out and dissipate its accumulated capital in the form of coal and oil. The first reconnaissance survey that was made by Mr Barlow and Mr Meares showed that there was in India recoverable water power to the extent at least of over one and three-quarter million horse power, that is to say roughly as much as India gets from her annual output of coal. Delay in harnessing even that much power—and that is not the total by a long way—means a direct annual loss of something that might be estimated roughly in value at about 5 000 000 pounds sterling and such neglect delays the whole growth of the country in several ways, even endangering the security of India among other civilized nations.

Now, ladies and gentlemen I will not keep from you any longer the privilege of hearing first hand the considered views of a practical engineer who has already proved that the wasted water power of India can be turned to commercial account by Indians and for the benefit of their industries. I will now ask Mr Arnall to read his paper. (Applause)

The paper was then read and received with applause.

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, Mr Arnall's paper falls naturally into two parts, the first part discusses the conditions that are necessary to facilitate private enterprise in the utilization of the water power which is now being wasted in India, and the second part gives us, as a concrete example, a comprehensive survey of the schemes which have been projected for development along the western escarpment of the Deccan plateau. The second part provides the inspiration for the first. The scheme which has been outlined shows how concerted action

on the part of the hydraulic engineer the electrician, the railway engineer, and the technical industrialist, will revolutionize—I do not think that is too strong a word—the economic configuration of Western India. It will provide a living for thousands who now exist—one cannot use the word *live*—from hand to mouth on the land threatened annually with starvation by the vagaries of the monsoon. It will appreciably add to the Government revenues, which will be required in yearly increasing amounts to meet the legitimate needs of an expanding civilization. It will retard, and this is an important point the heavy drain on the coal resources of the country which are already being threatened with relative depletion. The railways, which are now overloaded by coal traffic from Behar to Bombay, will be free to handle more expensive and more valuable products. It will facilitate the retention in India of money or its equivalent in raw materials—the same thing—which is now sent out of the country to pay for imported manufactures. It will add to the security of India by the local manufacture of specialized munitions which as we learned during the Great War, may be cut off during any further international complications.

Most of these are widely known truisms that need no further discussion, but it is important to keep in mind the fact that Mr Arnall's project is not the dream of an economic visionary it is the finished product of many years of solid work undertaken by a band of very critical and very conservative experts at the expense of an Indian firm who have shown a remarkable combination of prevision and enterprise controlled by cold commercial commonsense (*Hear hear*). Schemes of this sort require for their success the concerted action of the commercial public the Government, and those leaders of public opinion who direct for good or evil the manifestations of public spirit. To the detriment of the whole country they can be inhibited by the passive resistance of either of these three groups. Every delay in a commercial enterprise adds to its cost, which must be paid for ultimately by the consumer himself. Mr Arnall has referred, for example, to the way in which recent local opposition now threatens the completion of one of the constituent items in this great programme, and an item which I think in itself has cost something like a crore of rupees already. One sympathizes with those ryots, whose sentimental attachment to their homesteads cannot be compensated entirely by money but when works are undertaken for the general public good and under conditions directly profitable to those who are locally inconvenienced, it should be a privilege of those who mould public opinion to show that their desire for the general welfare of the country takes precedence of all political sentiments. Patience, however such as the Tatas have shown in this respect although it must be paid for in cash by the industrialist, and therefore ultimately by the consumer will secure more lasting results than the forcible application of Section 24 of the Land Acquisition Act which directs that the Court, in determining the amount of the compensation to be paid, shall not take into consideration "any disinclination of the person interested to part with the land acquired."

Mr Arnall draws attention to the great disadvantage now arising from

the absence of definite rules and precise regulations to govern the grant of concessions to develop hydro-electric power. His criticisms are, I think, just and very much to the point. Local Governments have so far neither rules nor experience to enable them to lay down conditions which will be fair to the promoters of these enterprises, which will be at the same time reasonably certain to safeguard the public revenues, will limit the demands of those companies who are naturally anxious to forestall imitators and competitors, will prevent unduly large projects from inhibiting activity in promoting small local schemes, or, conversely, will prevent small local power-stations from preoccupying sites which might be found suitable for inclusion in larger schemes of greater general public utility. The Government of India have not been unconscious of this defect or absence of rules to control the grant of concessions of the sort Mr Arnall has referred to. Soon after the publication of the first reconnaissance survey by Messrs. Barlow and Meares, which was undertaken on the suggestion of the Industrial Commission, we proceeded to review the small amount of facts and experience then available for the purpose of formulating general principles of a tentative nature on which afterwards to found a set of rules. Our intention was to start with general rules analogous to those which are now used for the grant of mineral concessions, and then afterwards, with the accumulated experience, to draft legislative measures. At the same time, in February of last year I introduced a Bill into the Indian Legislature to amend the Indian Electricity Act as a sort of temporary stop-gap, hoping, at any rate to make it meanwhile more suitable to meet the conditions of the larger power concerns that are now developing in India. The shortcomings of the Land Acquisition Act pointed out by the Industrial Commission, are not so easily cured. The Act was examined in 1920, and lines for amendment were suggested for criticism through local Governments in the ordinary way. Mr Arnall very fairly calls attention to the disadvantages of the present state of affairs, which leaves some doubt whether and, to what extent, the Land Acquisition Act can be used legitimately for the benefit of hydro-electric power schemes other than those of ordinary public utility. He points out also that in existing circumstances any attempt to develop a power scheme of a large kind merely leads to the institution of a 'vicious circle'. A company cannot obtain the benefit of the Act till it is floated and it cannot fully satisfy the principles of company flotation without the certainty of obtaining under unequivocal conditions the land necessary for it to work. The obscurity of the Land Acquisition Act had led to very embarrassing inequalities in its provincial interpretation. Contrary to the views of most local authorities, it has been used by some local Governments more than once to acquire land on behalf of industrial concerns. In several provinces, however, this use of it has been refused. Good authorities also have agreed that it can be used legitimately for charitable and philanthropic institutions, equally eminent lawyers have advised the Government that the wording of the Act does not admit of this use of it, in spite of the explicit statement that was made in the Legislature when the Act was amended in 1894. A well known commentator on English law once

cynically remarked that the lawyer who wrote so as to be understood was an enemy to his profession. Well, the Land Acquisition Act, I think, must have been drafted by someone who had the interests of his profession greatly at heart. But it is obviously desirable now in the interests of industries which are, after all, more useful in litigation that the Act should be amended into ordinary honest man's English so as to meet the requirements not only of those who wish to acquire land but those who are equally anxious to dispose of land. One should remember that often in India it is not so much the unwillingness on the part of the landowner to sell as the necessity of obtaining a clear title which makes the use of the Land Acquisition Act necessary.

Most new developments of the sort described by Mr Arnall clash somewhere with vested interests. It is difficult to foresee in the development of hydro-electric power however—at any rate on the Western Ghats—any prospective injury to existing interests, anything that will not at once, or almost at once, bring with it compensating advantages. The colliery owners are not likely to object, they know that every new industry means new requirements for fuel, and after all the colliery owners of Behar and Bengal have more than enough to do to meet the demands of Eastern India. The railway companies will lose part of their long freights from east to west, but under existing conditions the transport of coal at low freight rates merely reduces their opportunities for handling more valuable goods whilst those railways serving the newly developed areas will have an opportunity of handling new raw materials and new finished products. Steamship companies engaged on the West Coast trade may find that part of their traffic is being diverted to the proposed new Konkan railway. But they will remember that when new industries spring up the railway will have to serve the new industrial areas or it will not be constructed at all, and that the two together are more likely to help than to injure the steamship companies. With regard to those who have any fear on this score I would like to invite them to learn a lesson from the Manchester Ship Canal. In the early 90s when I was a fellow of the Owens College, one might have imagined from the general local talk of Manchester that the people looked forward to the days when they would make trips down to see the ruins of old Liverpool. But although the Ship Canal has raised an inland town like Manchester to be the fifth port for tonnage in the United Kingdom Liverpool is greater than ever. There was evidently room for both and there is room too, for the proposed Konkan railway as much as for the shipping on the West Coast. Each will create traffic for the other if they work together. (Hear hear.)

The development of electric power on a large scale is important, not because of its extended use for lighting or as a simple motive power in mills but because especially it is possible by utilizing the main load for the mills, at the same time to spare energy at very low rates for chemical and metallurgical manufactures that cannot be attempted economically in any other way. Most of these are essential munitions of war ordinary as well as lethal. Their separate manufacture in each of our great Dominions is now essential for military reasons, as well as important on economical grounds and till

India can produce sulphuric acid at, say £3 a ton and electrical power at say £3 per electrical horse-power the rest of her resources in coal and iron, lead, copper, zinc, leather etc., will be so much loot for any other power that can dodge the British Navy. Narcotic soothing syrups, like the League of Nations and the Washington Conference may be swallowed with safety by self-contained countries like those of Europe, Japan and America but they merely endanger the national life of India. For internal purely domestic reasons liberal reforms are important but cheap hydro-electric power and cheap sulphuric acid are absolutely essential. The Government that fails to distinguish between what is essential and what is important will act like the apothecary who fails to distinguish between the use of arsenic as a tonic and the use of arsenic as a poison. Judging by the attention which is now being given to undignified official communiques in reply to impertinent open letters, India seems to be the victim of two such disputing apothecaries: one legally qualified and the other a quack. Meanwhile her water is running to waste and her sulphide ores are being sent out of the country in shiploads. (Hear, hear and applause.)

I will now ask Lord Lamington to open the discussion.

LORD LAMINGTON: Ladies and gentlemen, many of the papers we have had read before the Association dealt with vital subjects but I think the one which Mr Arnall has presented to us is of thrilling importance. He has indicated what will be the future industrial activity that will take place under the shadow of the Western Ghats. He has gone very fully into the subject and our chairman has reviewed the subject very closely. I am doubly interested in it. Firstly as having been Governor of Bombay. When the great Tata scheme first started I always watched its progress with great interest, and I am very glad to realize that great scheme is likely to have successors in other parts. Secondly, I was a member of that Water Board Committee where these various projects were discussed and considered. It is very remarkable how very important a part the Bombay Presidency plays in these schemes. I think the whole of these water areas lie on the eastern slopes of the Ghats here they have to be impounded and diverted from their natural course in an opposite direction.

The main point which has been very much dwelt upon by the two speakers was the connection of this scheme with the Government. The lecturer indicated that it might be advisable for Government aid to be obtained. Personally I should always avoid Government aid if possible. I am no believer in Governments: they are mere necessary evils. I always used to do my best as Governor of Bombay to act on the side of the private individual. For instance, I remember there was a great idea at that time to provide small railways as feeders for the bigger railways. One of my colleagues put forward certain schemes and advocated Government control and management of the two schemes that promised to be remunerative leaving the rest to be operated by a private company. That was absurd. I am, of course, in favour of Government supervision but I believe that it is by far the best principle that projects should be carried out by those who are immediately interested rather than by the taxpayer.

I understand from the result of that Committee which has been referred

to that it was the view of the lecturer himself and his colleagues that these matters should be undertaken by private enterprise as far as possible. I am glad to hear Sir Thomas Holland corroborate the fact that work begets work. Everything produced is only one link in the long chain of sequence of events, and is bound to produce more work in the future for everybody. I have no doubt many here to-day will be able to present their views with far greater effect than I can. I remember about thirty years ago I travelled from Madras to Bombay and how the first view of this great city surrounded by palm trees and vegetation, impressed me, not only with its beauty, but also by its tall chimneys emitting streaks of smoke with the evidence that under the auspices of the British Government this great industrial city had arisen in the Far East, and one of the great results of this wonderful scheme will be the abolition of this smoke that besmirches the glorious landscape. (Hear, hear.)

I only hope that all that has been forecasted in this paper will be realized in the not too distant future.

The CHAIRMAN Dr Crowley, whom I see present, was also a member of the Water Resources Committee of the United Kingdom and Chairman of the Water Resources Subcommittee, Board of Trade, which has produced an extremely interesting report on this subject and we should like to hear what he has to say on the matter. I will ask him to speak, but before I do that I am asked to say that Miss Scatcherd has received a letter from Dr Pollen commenting on the lecture, and I know that this Association would like to hear his message.

MISS SCATCHERD Mr Chairman ladies and gentlemen Dr Pollen has written from Portugal as follows

‘The post has just brought me a letter enclosing the admirable paper by Mr Arthur T Arnall which he is to read before the E I A under the chairmanship of my old friend Sir Thomas Holland, on the 20th. I have read through the paper. In the first place I consider the E I A. is to be congratulated on securing such an excellent and useful paper. It is bound to do good to Bombay and the rest of India, and writing as I do from the land from which Catherine of Braganza conveyed Bombay to Britain and with thirty two years knowledge of the town and island, I should like to congratulate most heartily the lecturer.

‘I have always been a great believer of water power in India, and I agree with the lecturer that cheap electrical energy is one of the most valuable raw materials of modern times, and he is right in urging that every factor contributing to its development should receive the serious attention of Government and of everyone really concerned in the welfare and progress of India. My old friend Tata was one of the very first to realize its value, and Government ought to have come to his assistance much more readily than they did.

‘There can be little doubt that a prominent factor in arresting the wider development of water power schemes in Great Britain was the costly, protracted, and inefficient system of obtaining the necessary authority by means of a private Bill. Indeed, this system lays at the root of nearly all

the legitimate Irish agitation for Home Rule, and may be described as its chief justification.

"That is an excellent idea that local authority should take up shares in the electric supply of its district, sufficient to make it the important and predominant shareholder (just as Disraeli made Great Britain in the case of the Suez Canal)

It is interesting to note that it is not improbable that electrical engineers will be able to develop means of transmitting energy economically to distances as great as 500 and 1 000 miles

'I am delighted to hear of the Ingatpura project I used to know Nasik and Ingatpura well in the old days, and I was one of those who urged the selection of Nasik in preference to Calcutta and Delhi as the capital of India and the seat of the Supreme Government The climate is first rate, and it is justly claimed that labour is 25 per cent. more efficient in a climate such as that of Ingatpura than in Bombay City

"I was also pleased to see in the map in the paper the alignment of the railway we projected many years ago running from the Deccan at Karad to Hog Island on the east side of the harbour

"I agree with the lecturer that the construction of the line, with a connection to the G I P Railway at or near Kalyan would make a most desirable improvement and would open up an additional route from Bombay to the railway system of South India.

"In conclusion I should like to support the lecturer's plea for the modification of the attitude of those misguided politicians who urged cultivators not to yield up their lands—even on the basis of adequate compensation—for works essential to the good of the whole community

Yours sincerely

J POLLEN

Dr CROWLEY Ladies and gentlemen, I should like to add my tribute to the tributes that have been paid to the lecturer for the eminently practical character of his paper Frequently we have to listen to papers which deal with constructive work carried out and executed no doubt very interesting from a technical point of view but this evening we have had a paper pointing out grievances and suggesting remedies for dealing with those grievances. During my experience in connection with the Electricity Supply Inquiry in this country one was brought into intimate contact with the complicated situation that has arisen here during the last thirty years of electricity supply development, and also in connection with the Water Resources Inquiry, with the condition which has arisen in connection with water supply for various purposes, and I must confess, after five years work in connection with those two inquiries, and feeling that this country was the only country in the world that could present such a complicated picture it was rather refreshing to find when one reached India that Government were worried there, in a new industrial country, about some of these matters.

In India irrigation is the dominant factor in connection with water supply problems Latterly it would appear that the question of drainage

is arising as a result of irrigation because of the bringing up of harmful salts through irrigation, thus making it necessary to lower the level of the subsoil water. Cheap power, on the other hand is now being regarded throughout the whole world as one of the most vital necessities to industrial countries, and it is because cheap power is so important that we have had this paper from Mr Arnall to day.

Now as regards some of the practical points raised in connection with legislation there is no doubt whatever that it is a very serious matter to have to promote a power company in India, with the conditions that may attach to the grant of land to that company. Mr Arnall gave you a practical case where a company was actually floated, and attached to the Land Acquisition Agreement entered into afterwards was a condition which meant an expenditure of a sum of £100 000 additional to that usually payable under the Act. Again he referred in his paper to the question of licence conditions. If you wish to run a transmission line across a tract of country in India for the purpose of supplying a private enterprise it would appear that you cannot obtain powers to do so unless you first apply for a licence to supply electric power to a neighbourhood to which you have no intention of supplying power. Now that condition of things is one that should not be allowed to stand. These problems of land acquisition and water supply and electrical distribution are problems however that concern other people than the power engineer. In the first place as regards land acquisition I think the author made the suggestion that the conditions on which land could be acquired for other than public purposes should be the same as the conditions on which land is acquired for public purposes. The question of compensation for land taken compulsorily arises here, and I am not quite clear that it would be just to fix the compensation for land required for a semi private purpose on the same basis as you would fix compensation for land required for a public and national purpose.

Then there is another matter. From the schemes outlined in the paper it is clear that the bulk of them are sending power from their natural catchment areas to a distant industrial centre. It is at the same time suggested that new industrial centres may spring up in the neighbourhood of the power sites. There is a question that arose in connection with our enquiries in this country which is of interest, and that is, as to whether it would not be wise to insert in concessions granted to power undertakers a clause securing that a certain percentage of the power they develop is reserved for the area from which the power is taken. There is a feeling that the people who live in a particular catchment area have a prior right to the power developed from that area. I think this is a matter that might well merit attention in India.

I mention those points with a view to leading up to a suggestion. I think these matters of Land Acquisition Clauses, Power Supply Licence conditions, and Wayleaves for Transmission Lines are so complex—we have moved so far in these matters recently—that if the best results are to be secured for India it would be wise if a committee were formed by the Indian Government to enquire into what has been done in other

countries, and to suggest legislation in connection with these matters. That would be a sound method of approaching what is an extremely complicated subject. Might I also support the suggestion of the Water Power Committee of the Conjoint Board of Scientific Societies that an Imperial Conference on Water should be called? Having been for some time in India, and passing from India to Egypt, and coming into contact with the Public Works Departments in both countries, one found that one learned much in each country that one did not know before and I think the specialized knowledge which is locked up in the various countries of the Empire might be made available for the Empire as a whole (Hear, hear and applause)

SIR LIONEL JACOB, K.C.S.I. Mr Chairman ladies and gentlemen I have been asked to say something on the subject of the excellent lecture we have heard this afternoon, but since I retired from Indian service considerable progress has been made in hydro electric investigations in the country and I have to confess myself a back number. There is, however one point I may perhaps emphasize. Lord Lamington has advised that in matters of this kind it is best to have as little to do with Government as possible, and though theoretically I agree with that view in practice Government assistance, encouragement and intervention are essential.

We have heard much this afternoon about the Land Acquisition Act there are all the other Acts of which mention has been made and it is difficult for private enterprise to steer through the complications of procedure without Government aid. It is therefore important that the procedure should be simplified, and I agree with the Chairman that the leaders of industry and of public opinion in India should force the attention of Government to the subject. Since I retired, I believe some improvements have been made, and I also believe that they have been largely due to Sir Thomas Holland (Hear, hear), who takes a common sense and business like view of matters which are not regarded in the same light by the ordinary official (Hear, hear)

I remember in the instance of a pioneer endeavour to obtain a hydro-electric concession, I did my best to secure favourable terms in order to encourage enterprise of that kind and I found myself opposed. I was told that I did not understand that these fellows were trying to make money out of the country! (Laughter) It was difficult to believe that very able and intelligent officers of the Government would make a remark like that. It almost implied that they expected that men would go to India and spend time and ability and invest large sums of money from philanthropic motives. That is the particular point I wish to lay stress on. The Government cannot be avoided, but we want the Government, for the sake of the industrial progress of the country to be more helpful and considerate, and to take that interest in commercial affairs that Sir Thomas Holland took, and with more men like him I believe that the desired progress would be greatly advanced. (Hear, hear)

Colonel MINSHALL said he was delighted to hear of the enormous advantages which Bombay would derive industrially and from the point of view of munitions. Lord Lamington had also referred to the advantages of

removing the smoke from Bombay, but there was one other enormous advantage which Bombay was waiting for at the moment, and that was the electrification of its railways. As they were no doubt aware, some years ago the whole project was looked into in the time of Lord Sydenham and plans prepared for the electrification of the railways. Cheap electric power was absolutely essential to the carrying out of that great project. There were, doubtless, many many present who had been in Bombay since he had, and they would have seen the growing congestion on the railways. The great Bombay development scheme depended entirely on transport facilities. For many reasons the advantages which existed in this country for other means of transport could not be had in India, and he gathered that unless some means were taken for improved transportation of the suburban traffic the whole development scheme was likely to be seriously delayed. In his opinion, amongst the largest consumers there were in Bombay the railways would be probably the most important, and even for that reason alone the development of the hydro electric schemes was absolutely essential (Hear hear)

Mr ARNOLD L LPTON said he was glad to be allowed to say a few words on the subject. He was one of the people whom the lecturer characterized in his remarks as a robber—i.e. as one who had helped to exhaust the mineral supplies in this country as hard as ever he could. When he was in India he had looked into the question of hydro electric supplies, and he saw some of the reservoirs near Bombay and the pipes, and the power houses and the transmission lines and that great work which was now being greatly extended. He also had the privilege of being shown by one of the engineers of the Indian Government in a more southerly part of the Ghats the enormous schemes for the construction of future reservoirs, which would be available for the development of power and irrigation. In those cases the water was to fall in an easterly direction so as to get on to the dry plains. He would like to know from the lecturer what proportion of the rainfall of any given district he would actually lock up in his reservoirs and in the supply of power for Bombay and the Western districts. Probably it is only a small fraction of the total rainfall in the catchment area of his reservoirs.

Then Dr Crowley said the irrigation problem involved the problem of drainage. In Amritsar he had been shown a wonderful pump (the invention of Mr Ashford), which was intended to drain the irrigated areas, so that they would not be poisoned as the result of raising the hydraulic level and which also would facilitate increased irrigation. They also utilized the fall of the irrigation canal to work turbines for the generation of electrical power to work the pumps which drained the irrigated areas. This electrically driven pump could also be utilized for raising water from wells for irrigation, as being cheaper than water drawing by oxen. He regarded the hydro-electric development as one of the great things for the India of the future.

With regard to munitions nitrogen could be manufactured also, not merely for the purpose of destruction of human beings, but for the manufacture of manure, which would help to improve the condition of the

people of India. It had been said by one of the speakers that some of the people "only existed —they could not say 'lived' —but if a little more nitrogen and a little more super phosphate and potash were applied to their lands, the people of India might live in a condition of happiness and prosperity which they had not experienced within the last few hundred years. (Hear hear)

The CHAIRMAN I will now ask the lecturer to reply to the discussion

The LECTURER Mr Chairman ladies and gentlemen I thank you all very sincerely for your kind interest, the interest shown by our chairman was especially gratifying I know the secretary is always keen to have points raised in the discussion to which one can reply but I am afraid there are not many points arising out of this paper to-day

There was one point raised by Mr Lupton to which I should like to reply He seemed rather to suspect that water power engineers are robbing the Deccan of its irrigation water supplies I would point out that the Government of Bombay thoroughly investigated all the valleys of the Western Ghats many years ago and those valleys which could be used for irrigation would be so used and they would not be allowed to be used for power The reason *these* valleys (indicating on map) are being used for power is because the rivers flowing from them are so much below the level of the plains of the Deccan that their waters cannot be economically used for irrigation and it is chiefly for that reason that the Government is allowing their development for power It may be added however that a portion of the waters of the Tata Power Company's and the Koyna schemes is reserved for possible Deccan requirements

Mr LUPTON The schemes I referred to were not the schemes on this map which the lecturer has referred to

The LECTURER concluded by proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the chairman which was seconded and on being put to the meeting was carried with acclamation

The CHAIRMAN Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen

The proceedings then terminated

Mr Alfred Dickinson M INST C E M ICE., Consulting Engineer has written the following letter for publication

"The author, who was one of my chief assistants on the Tata Hydro Electric Works, as the paper demonstrates, has taken full advantage of the opportunities he has had of acquiring information and knowledge of hydro-electrics in India I congratulate him on his interesting paper

'No one can have a keener interest in hydro-electric development than I but I am not one of those who believe that all hydro-electric propositions possess commercial advantages The real test of any electric supply undertaking is the price at which electrical energy can be sold to consumers. A hydro-electric plant possesses no advantage over any other scheme if it cannot profitably sell cheaper energy The Tata Hydro Electric Scheme was the pioneer scheme in the utilization of the dry valleys of the Western Ghats as storage lakes for power purposes I was

the prophet crying in the wilderness, and received from the wisecracks the odium generally meted out to such prophets, and, like the prophets of old, now get like treatment in my own country. The directors with whom I worked were a group of Indian gentlemen with large and broad views, most of them manufacturers of cotton fabrics, but with little experience of the difficulties to be met with in the carrying out of large engineering projects. Therefore their doubts and fears during construction can be understood. I believe that an engineer of less sanguine temperament would have succumbed.

"The Tata Hydro-Electric scheme was the first installation of its kind which earned and paid a dividend on its whole capital in the first year of working. It was designed for eight units at the power house, only five have been installed as yet. The water capacity of the existing lakes is sufficient to give a minimum supply for 3,600 hours a year of 76,000 horse-power delivered to consumers in Bombay, which can be readily increased by 10,000 horse-power or more by utilizing the catchment of the Kundhli Valley, which I advised the company to do. By this addition, and the completion of the power house, a considerably increased revenue could be obtained from the water available for power thus very materially enhancing the profits of the company. It was believed that the Andhra Valley scheme would cost much less per horse-power than the Tata Hydro Electric Works. I did not concur in that opinion, and experience has shown that I was right.

Hydro-electric installation in India generally particularly in the Western Ghats, present many advantages over hydro electric schemes in this country. For instance, land in India is cheap, in this country the price is almost prohibitive. Also there the cost of rubble masonry is about one fourth of the cost in this country. Again, the value of a cubic foot of water stored in the Western Ghats is much higher than that of a cubic foot of water stored in this country, owing to the larger fall obtainable in the Western Ghats.

The magnitude of the preliminary work involved on a hydro-electric scheme is seldom, if ever, fully appreciated. The fundamental basis on which we originally worked on the Tata scheme was two rain gauges which had been kept by the G I P Railway at Lonawla for a period of thirty-seven years. The first preliminary was to test the reliability of these gauges by checking them with other special gauges. Being satisfied that the rainfall would justify a scheme, we proceeded to select sites for storage dams. The present locations are not those which would have given the best hydro-electric advantages. At much less cost in dams we could have devised a scheme which would have given over 200,000 horse-power. The only reason that scheme was not proceeded with was that to obtain a concession we were compelled to adopt the line of least resistance. Among others, the G I P Railway were criticizing the scheme. In addition, we had the opposition of the Bombay Tramways and Power Supply Company and we had the scepticism of the Bombay Government and of the Municipality of Bombay. When we were able to demonstrate the soundness of our proposal the scepticism of the Government was overcome and it then

did everything possible granting a concession quickly. Its success is due to the exceptional conditions which exist, and which our close investigation of details discovered and established.

After the works were commenced an objection was raised that the catchment areas could not yield the estimated quantity of water. This disturbed the minds of the directors and caused endless trouble to me, for although experience has demonstrated and fully established the soundness of our views at the time it was our opinion as against another. The estimates were based upon 75 per cent of the rainfall being caught and stored, as a matter of fact, it is very much in excess of this. I mention this because no expenditure on the construction of a hydro electric scheme dependent upon rain falling during the monsoon can be fully justified without a complete knowledge of all such like particulars and these extending over many years. All this shows that valuable as will be the information collected by Government of the various schemes it can only be considered as the first stepping stone of the essential investigations of the engineers designing for the schemes.

FINANCIAL SECTION

THE EXPORT TRADES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES TO ASIA

BY MORETON FREWEN

The Times of January 31 when considering the conditions which obtain at present in the chief trades of Lancashire, has this to say "Cotton still clothes three quarters of the people of the globe", and whereas the cotton business three years since was more prosperous than at any previous period in its history, it is now difficult to find language to describe its depression adequately

Let us review very briefly the figures of this colossal trade In 1913 our export to India in square yards was 7,075,558,400, for 1921 it was 2,902,659 000, which is much the lowest figure touched since the Lancashire cotton famine of 1862

And these sinister conditions have come to stay—the strangulation of our export trades and those of the United States—until an economic conference has met and has found methods to restore the purchasing power of the money of "those three-quarters of the human race" When China can once more buy a sovereign with three taels instead of as now with eight, the trade will rapidly recover Thus the great silver problem has once more emerged at the most critical moment in human history

I remember at a small dinner given by the late Sir William Houldsworth, the Member for Manchester in honour of Professor Francis Walker, the eminent American economist, the Professor immensely impressed the dozen guests, amongst whom were Sir Arthur Balfour and Mr

William Lidderdale, the governor of the bank, by concluding his short speech with these words He said

I regard the question of silver as far more than any mere problem in finance I believe that with its right settlement is bound up the very progress of their civilizations for the Western nations ' There never should have been a Silver Question

Under a harmless and innocent Bill purporting to codify the various Mint Statutes a clause excluding silver from free coinage was smuggled through Congress *

In the debate in the Senate on the Repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania, was able to declare *nemine contradicente*

" From the beginning to the end of this long debate not one voice in either House has been raised in defence of a mono metallic gold standard

There has been a lively discussion in the Press of the Far West as to where those two mighty railroad builders James J Hill and Edward Harriman stood as to this question in their last days Hill's vast railway constructions had built up great and populous States from Minnesota to Oregon fully 1,500 miles Harriman died a few years since owning or at least controlling, some fifty thousand miles of railroads Both of these great captains of industry had become in their last years as Harriman expressed it to me ardent silver men, having been forced by events to make a study of the question The reasons which chiefly weighed with these two I will write down briefly

These economic points will assume much importance when America comes to final decisions on the great problems of the Pacific

* For the conclusive evidence as to this crime of 1873 " see an article of this writer's in the *North American Review* April, 1909

COMMERCIAL SECTION

THE WEALTH OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

BY GEORGE POLLOCK

(Editor, *Netherlands Indies Review*)

'It was curious how, as I walked the street of Singapore, I felt weighing upon me the vast islands of the Dutch East Indies—Java, Borneo, and Sumatra—that hemmed me in on either side, and await in turn the development of their incalculable riches. The world needs more and more the produce of the tropics, and these half-virgin islands, small continents in themselves, will be playing their part when Singapore has sunk to trivial importance.'

Thus wrote a special correspondent of *The Times* from Malaya, realizing that it is to the Dutch East Indian Archipelago that the world must look for a great proportion of the supplies of tropical produce which are the necessities of civilization.

Borneo as yet practically undeveloped is, excluding the continent of Australia, the largest island in the world, and Sumatra, practically undeveloped also, is destined to prove one of the richest. Java is at present the only island of this group where the vast agricultural and mineral wealth is being exploited to any degree, and when Sumatra in the future, is developed to an equal extent, her importance as a world supplier will be colossal.

Rubber—now rising once more in value—tea, sugar, coffee, quinine, copra, palm-oil, tobacco, pepper, and nutmeg, to mention only a few of the many agricultural products, are nearly all found in such quantity that the presence of a single commodity would ensure the importance

of the islands And in addition to these there are the wealthy tin mines of Banka and Billiton, the recently discovered copper mines in Timor, and petroleum wells gold, diamond, coal and iron mines scattered broadcast

It is to these islands that India must look for a great deal of the raw material she will require as her needs increase and as the output of her industries grows greater The Djambi oil fields from which are obtained annually over 17,000 000 barrels of petroleum are the nearest source of supply for her motor industry, and to day, Dutch East Indian spirit is to be found in the tanks of motor-cars throughout the Empire

Java practically controls the world's quinine supply, and enormous quantities of this drug pass from the Dutch East Indies to Calcutta and other ports

A considerable bulk of what is known as "Singapore tin" comes in reality from the mines of Banka and Billiton, and Java ranks chief among the exporters of sugar to India. During September, 1,081 478 cwts of the best grade alone — 'Java 23' — found their way into Indian warehouses

One of the newer plantation industries—so far as the Netherlands East Indies are concerned—is the cultivation of the oil palm and it is not beyond possibility that this branch of agriculture will prove the source of great additional wealth

It is only a comparatively short time since the first oil palms were brought into the islands, but in Sumatra, especially, the industry is developing at such a tremendous rate that the position West Africa now holds in this respect is being seriously menaced

According to a conservative estimate in a very few years 100,000 acres will be covered with oil-palms in Sumatra alone, and the exports from that island will be something like 100 000 tons annually

Copra production is, of course, an older industry, and, at present, a more important one Throughout the world there is a serious shortage of edible fats for both human

and animal consumption, and exports of this produce will have to increase to an enormous extent before any difficulty will be experienced in finding a market. India, alone, is a copra buyer of enormous potentiality, and her proximity to the Dutch East Indies will undoubtedly react favourably on the market. If Sumatra had been developed a little earlier, perhaps vegetable and not animal fat would have been used to smear the cartridges used by the Indian soldiers in 1857 and it would have needed another pretext to plunge the country into war.

Copra, one of the main constituents of margarine and of the other fatty compounds used in the preparation of food, is the fruit of the wonderful *klapper*, or coco-nut palm which can be used in such a multitude of ways. No part of the tree is thrown away. Fruit that falls to the ground before it is ripe is made by the natives into medicines. Ripe nuts are eaten both raw and cooked. The hard shell is made into spoons, mugs, and plates, and from the fibrous covering we obtain what is known as 'coir,' which is made into string, matting, brushes, etc. Even the leaves of the palm can be used to thatch the native huts, and when the tree is tapped alcohol can be distilled from the latex. Copra is made from the kernel, and its importance has increased tremendously since the discovery of the 'deodorizing' process. It is very largely used in the manufacture of cattle foods such as oil cake, as well as in the manufacture of margarine, etc.

Agriculture is the principal but, nevertheless, only one occupation in the Netherlands East Indies. Factories are hard at work turning out all kinds of goods, and ships are being built in at least two of the seven well-equipped ship yards to be found in the islands. Ropes, bricks, chocolate, jam, are all manufactured to some extent, but the whole of this production is swallowed up by the home demand, and still the islands offer—indeed invite—tremendous opportunities for trade. There is a population of over 50,000,000 whites and natives, and as the latter are rapidly becoming

more enlightened, demand is good for almost every commodity that the manufacturers ingenuity can devise

The Dutch East Indies are prepared to supply the world with certain commodities but in return they demand that they themselves shall be supplied with European manufactures The import and export trade is growing daily, and the principal firms trading with the islands have found it advantageous to form themselves into the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies, an organization now represented in the Netherlands East Indies by the branch at Batavia and with a head office in London at 103, Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, E C 4

The Chamber is, of course in the closest touch with all trade and industry connected with the islands and is now proving itself to be invaluable to traders by passing on to them latest reports which come direct from the Batavia branch, where Mr C M Morrell the former London secretary, is in charge of affairs

The Chamber is especially fortunate in having for its Governor Sir Walter Townley, K.C.M.G., formerly Minister at the Hague and it is consequently in a particularly favourable position to act both in Holland and in her East Indian colonies

It is almost a platitude to say that the first step towards an improvement in trade is an extension of activities on the part of manufacturers and traders and it is equally evident that the Dutch East Indies afford one of the finest fields in the world for such an extension of trade The British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies is in a position to advise as to the steps which should be taken to secure the best results from such commercial relations

For the benefit of those who are interested in Netherland East Indian trade relations with India and with England I append selections from the items of proposed expenditure in the 1922 Budget of the Netherlands East Indies

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT

	Dutch Florins.
Building and workshops required for the postal telegraphic and telephone service	1,406,500
Buildings and works necessary for the maintenance of the salt monopoly	135,800
Buildings and works necessary for the Government Printing Department	441,350
Buildings and other works required by the Marine Department	1,317,750
Buildings and workshops necessary for the aeronautics (advancement)	1,410,000
Bridges and constructional works for the maintenance of canals, rivers dykes	9 343,000
Irrigation, drainage, dams, and pier works	14,424,000
Work in the interest of public health	4 015 500
Harbour of Tandjoeng Priok (Batavia)	9,697 125
Harbour of Soerabaja (Java)	15 466,503
Harbour of Makasser (Celebes)	816 492
Harbour of Belawan (East Coast of Sumatra)	5 747 430
Harbour of Emmahaven (West Coast of Sumatra)	904,261
Harbour of Semarang (Java)	2,306,805
Harbour of Tjilatjap (Java)	861 730
Small harbours	3,302 324
Other expenses indirectly connected with the harbour service	1 437 000
Dredging service	5 075 075
Expenditure in connection with the development of hydraulic and electric power	7,670 825
Exploiting of Government mines	39 266,044
Preliminary steps connected with the possibility of exploiting iron ores in Celebes	Not yet decided
Post, telegraph and telephone service	22,989,060
State railways and tramways, also automobile services	93,010 200

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

LEADING ARTICLE

WIT AND HUMOUR OF THE HINDUS

BY STANLEY RICE

NOTHING is more sensitive to the effects of time and place than wit and humour. The jests which convulsed our forefathers are very apt to leave us cold. The laughter-makers of our time would perhaps then have been received with grave faces and dubious shrugs. It is one of the chief glories of Aristophanes that there are to be found men to-day who can enjoy the jests which convulsed the Athens of Euripides. The tree which Cervantes planted is still green, the gay flowers of Moliere's garden still bloom, if here and there we find one drooping. These examples have been chosen deliberately, because the wit has to conquer not only the centuries but the nations. We English who enjoy our *Punch*, who like to roll upon our tongues the fine flavour of its wit or to laugh at the broad humour of its jokes, are apt to shrug a scornful shoulder at the piquant drolleries of *Le Rire* or raise contemptuous eyebrows at the guffaws and exaggerated caricatures of *Simplicissimus*. Nor is the language the only obstacle. Those who relish the raciness of everyday American conversation may yet see little to admire in intentional American witticisms or at least receive them with a languid and unenthusiastic smile.

To make a name in literature or in art which shall be on the lips of contemporaries is the ambition of many. To make such a name that shall outlast a century is the reward and the glory of very few. But the most astonishing achievement of all, even though the sphere may not be the noblest, is to produce works of wit and humour which coming to us down the long corridors of the centuries, can still provoke the laughter or tickle the palate of this generation.

It is in this spirit, that we are not altogether constituted to enjoy the wit and humour of other nations, that we should approach those of India. Even for this limited

appreciation we have but few materials for if the humour of a nation be expressed in its literature, we have very little on which we can rely. Few of the ancient Sanskrit dramas have survived, and none at all of those ephemeral compositions which provided the lighter side of theatrical representation. The modern theatre turns in all seriousness to the problem play, to those performances which point a moral to politics or to society. The Hindu when he takes himself seriously is apt to take himself very seriously indeed. Those plays which seek merely to excite innocent laughter are not worth the trouble of translation, if indeed they are susceptible of it. Nor can any student hope to read all the productions of the many languages of India. He can only estimate the humour of the Indian by what goes on around him in everyday life. He can only judge by what it is given him to see or to read.

We all recognize intuitively the broad distinction between wit and humour. Perhaps we should none of us find it so easy to express this intuition in words. Wit appeals to the intelligence, humour rather to the senses. Wit pricks us with a rapier. Humour, like old Bottleby in the poem often drives at our ribs with his knuckles and expects the tribute of loud laughter. Wit must always be conscious, we only ascribe the quality to the man whose sallies are intentional though they may be improvisations of the moment. Humour on the other hand, is frequently unconscious, no failure is more lamentable than that of the man who tries to be funny and yet cannot raise a laugh. Yet no intentional humorist can raise more extravagant laughter than the tragedian whose efforts have gone astray. That is what we mean when we say that it is but a step from the sublime to the ridiculous for the sublime and pathetic figure of a Hamlet may easily be made, by the mere awkwardness of the actor, to appear at the other end of the scale as the most grotesque of caricatures.

Psychologists tell us that the sense of the ridiculous depends upon contrast, and this presupposes a certain mental development, which is capable of apprehending it. This contrast, says Hoffding 'results from the sudden conjunction of two thoughts or two impressions, each of which excites a feeling and the second of which razes what the first erects.' This is said to be fundamental and, as we shall see the Hindu classic writers, who were appealing to a highly cultivated audience, have constantly acted upon it. It is the same sense of contrast, exercised in another

direction—that of the feeling of superiority—which makes a short man feel somewhat ridiculous when talking to an excessively tall one, or especially to a very tall woman. This feeling seems to be akin to the feeling of the sublime which we have when we contemplate the stars or lofty mountains—anything in Nature which suggests a power immeasurably greater than our own. But it is viewed from the opposite standpoint and this perhaps is the reason why the absurdity of a farce excites laughter. The things which Charlie Chaplin does are not funny—it is the utter insignificance of the man as made up for the stage the ludicrous gravity with which he moves the apparent unconsciousness of his own absurdity which tickles the fancy at any rate of the less educated.

If the ancient Sanskrit dramas contain nothing that can reasonably be called tragedy, inasmuch as the essence of tragedy lies in the final and irrevocable catastrophe neither do we find anything of the purely comic type. It is perhaps unfair to invite comparison with English and French plays of many hundred years later nor do we turn to Shakespeare and Molière with this object but merely by way of illustration. Shakespeare, then mixes tragedy and comedy in his plays. Perhaps the nearest to Indian conceptions is the *Merchant of Venice* (always be it noted in passing a favourite with the Indian schoolboy), in which the pathetic, if vindictive, figure of the Jew, deprived of his daughter, his ducats, his bargain, and his faith, might really belong to the most poignant tragedy as we moderns understand it. Moreover, up to a certain point the play threatens to follow the lines of conventional tragedy. Antonio has made his bargain and cannot meet his obligations, until the last moment, when Portia appears with her verbal quibbles there seems to be no way out of the difficulty. Then suddenly all is changed, the bond is discovered to be defective and Antonio escapes through the offices of this goddess out of the machine. That is exactly what we are led to expect in a Sanskrit play, but the comic element differs entirely. There is no character in Sanskrit literature which in the least resembles Lancelot Gobbo. Nor again at least in those plays which are accessible to English readers, do the authors hold up to satire the manners and customs of their times as Molière did in the *'Femmes Savantes'* and the *"Précieuses Ridicules"* and to a lesser degree in the *"Bourgeois Gentilhomme"* which one may regard as pure farce of the delicate and whimsical type rather than of the rough and-

tumble order—a farce for the handkerchief of queenly Miss Janet rather than for the guffaws of old Bottleby

In appraising the comic art of the Hindus we are met by a formidable difficulty in that there are very few extant examples of it. In classifying the dramas, or rather in expounding the classification of Sanskrit writers themselves (for never has a dramatic system been so elaborately constructed labelled and analyzed as that of India) Professor Wilson shows that there is only one class which deals entirely with the comic although “fraud, intrigue, and imposition are appropriate topics” of the Bhana while in the Ihamriga “love and mirth are the prevailing sentiments”, in both of these, therefore, there is room for a display of wit or humour. The Prahasana on the other hand is a farcical or comic satire, and might be thought to have originated, like the old comedy from the phallic hymn. Unlike the Aristophanic comedy, however, it is levelled at the many headed mob, but in general at the sanctified and privileged orders of the community. It is in their extreme indelicacy that they resemble although they scarcely equal, the Greek comedy, but they have not its redeeming properties of exuberant gaiety and brilliant imagination. There are similar classes in the lower division of drama which are called Uparupakas, but these need not detain us.

With their passion for analysis and classification the Hindus have made a long list of human emotions and qualities which they consider fit for dramatic representation, and of these Hasya is described as mirth arising from ridicule of person, speech, or dress either one's own or another's. This quality is again subdivided into four, of which the first two are the elegant and cultivated expression of the emotion, the last two, and especially the fourth, are only fit for the common people. It is hardly necessary to add that they range from impassivity to the uproarious laughter which, as we are told, “betrays the vacant mind”.

And the same passion for regulating everything, including the emotions has to a certain extent sterilized their humour. That free play of the dramatist is denied to them which deals lightly with the foibles of human nature, now exhibiting the vanity of Malvolio, now holding up the mirror to vixenish temper in Mistress Quickly, or again revelling in the misanthropy of Alceste or exposing the hypocrisy of Tartuffe. The ancient drama has one comic character *par excellence*, the Vidushaka, but even he has become so systematized that the critics have been busy

reducing him to a common denominator, they have sought out the type and expect you to see the same features in all. Nor are they altogether wrong. The Vidushaka is a Brahman who is generally fond of good living, and has been called a mixture of shrewdness and buffoonery. He accompanies the King or hero, and acts as his confidential adviser. It is here that we detect the sense of contrast. Not only does the King speak Sanskrit and the "Fool" Prakrit, the King poetry and the "Fool" homely prose, but the poetic rhapsodies of the one are set against the downright common-sense of the other and it is upon this that the wit depends. If you say with Solomon's Song that your heart is sick of love the "Fool" will tell you that it is your body which is sick of apples. If you sigh for a meeting with your lady he will suggest that a portrait will suffice. "As my eye," says the Prince in "Vikrama and Urvashi" — "As my eye"

"Rests on the towering trees and from their tops
Sees the lithe creepers wave I call to mind
The graces that surpass its pendulous elegance
Come rouse your wit, and friendship may inspire
Some capable expedient"

"I have it" replies the "Fool" "Go to sleep and dream about her, or get a portrait and gaze on that." Or he is continually turning longing eyes to the pleasures of the table. "I used to stuff myself," he says in the "Toy Cart," "till I could eat no more" now I wander about like a tame pigeon picking up such crumbs as I can get. This appears to be the stock jest. We find it in the "Sakuntala" and in the piece already quoted. It is a cure for lovesickness. "Pay a visit to the kitchen" exclaims the "Fool" "the sight of the dishes will drive away melancholy."

Too much stress ought not to be laid upon these ancient pieces. Like the Greek drama, they were intended for religious and moral instruction and the sparkling wit and humour of a Congrève or a Molière would be as out of place as a fifth century Athenian tragedy. No doubt also much depended upon the actor and how much stage business he was able to introduce. Wit and humour are delicate plants which bloom and expand in the rays of a lively imagination, the dull reader will see nothing in the brilliant wit that appeals to a finer apprehension and he who is looking out for the keen thrusts and the pointed fancies of wit passes without a smile the broad jests that convulse his neighbour with laughter. It is difficult rightly to

appreciate the wit of a bygone age written in a dead language. Imagine a scene written in the dialect of Somerset, perhaps depending for its effect on this dialect, imagine that the whole point of the scene is contained in some quality characteristic of the British rustic suppose that scene translated into the purest Parisian French and presented to an audience unaccustomed to England and to English ways. Would it be matter for surprise if the whole flavour of the thing were spoiled—if the French audience received it not with smiles, but with yawns?

Nevertheless make what allowances we will the wit cannot but seem to us rather thin the humour somewhat languid. An Indian gentleman once remarked that the chief cause of misunderstanding between Englishmen and Indians, if any there really were lay in the lack of a sense of humour in the latter, a saying not altogether true, yet not without a germ of truth. To a people so preoccupied with the sense of dignity, to a people whose idea of hospitality is to receive a guest with honour and ceremony rather than with that familiarity of welcome which in the current vernacular we call making a man feel at home anything which seems to detract from that dignity or to offend that notion of honour seems to be an affront. Ever on their guard against appearing ridiculous, they do not understand those quips seldom amounting to real wit and often not even approaching humour, with which we are wont to enliven conversation, and that which from its very contrast between intention and performance strikes us as supremely funny seems to them quite natural and proper. They saw nothing incongruous in presenting as an athletic prize to a boy who never wore shoes an ordinary boot-brush. And a village anxious to celebrate the coronation saw nothing funny in following behind a cheap picture of the King placed on a rough toy-cart, and drawn by a naked cooly.

It may have seemed that too much space was devoted to an examination of the humour of bygone days, there was a purpose in it. For the ancient dramatic rules are still extant, are still a guide to the playwrights of to-day, and since we have so little chance of learning the inner thoughts of Indian writers from the vernacular plays of to-day seeing that those written in English generally break away from the established rules it is only by reference to the ancient works that we may have a trustworthy guide to the sentiment of to-day. There is, it is affirmed by the Indians themselves, nothing between the serious mytho-

logical, social, or political play and the outrageous buffoonery of farce.

The Hindu genius expresses itself far more readily in story and apologue than in neat terms of phrase or brilliant dialogues, such as Oscar Wilde gave us. The "Panchatantra," or collection of fables contained one within the other after the manner of Chinese boxes deserves to be much better known. We ought not to deny the title of wit, in the larger sense at any rate to these ingenious tales which, like our old familiar *Æsop*, inculcate moral precepts through the entertaining adventures of lions and tigers, kings and Brahmins, bulls, crocodiles, crows and rats. We may leave the Hindus their farce, which is neither better nor worse than those silly productions in Europe which aim only at raising the easy laugh of the moment. We may leave them their accredited buffoons, whose jests are apt to splutter in our ears like a damp firework. We may if we choose, flatter ourselves that we have a keener sense of the unconsciously ridiculous. But in the telling of witty stories not inconsistent with a certain dignity in which the humour lies perhaps too effectively concealed, they need fear no comparison, rather one would be tempted to say they have no rivals.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF JOURNALISM IN INDIA —II

By J A SANDBROOK

(Editor of *The Englishman* Calcutta)

THE first decade of the new régime was humdrum enough in Calcutta journalism. Things were no better in Bombay where there were only two papers the *Courier* and the *Gazette* neither of which exists to-day. The editor of one of them, Fair had shared the fate of Buckingham for daring to offend the Recorder. Newspapers, like other institutions had their vicissitudes, and when the great financial crisis came to Calcutta in the early thirties the proprietors of *John Bull*, like many other firms, were so badly hit that they tried to dispose of the property.

A purchaser was found in the person of Joachim Hayward Stocqueler, and he bought the paper for £1,800 (Rs 18 000) a sum that must have been a good deal less than the amount spent upon its foundation. Stocqueler like Buckingham, was a romantic figure who had travelled widely and adventured in many parts of the world before coming to Calcutta. The late Sir George Birdwood who remembered him well, once described him as one of the handsomest men he had ever known and on the stage and concert platform, as well as in the smoking-room or at the dinner table he was one of the most fascinating and vigorous personalities. It was in 1833 that he became proprietor of *John Bull* and at once changing the name to *The Englishman* and gathering around him a body of brilliant writers like Sir John Peter Grant, once Puisne Judge of the Court of Bombay, John Farlie Leith a rising advocate of the High Court, Charles Thackeray, uncle of the novelist, he soon made the paper a great power in India.

Hitherto the newspapers of India, save for the rather sordid personalities in which they indulged, had consisted mainly of extracts from the English papers. Stocqueler adopted a vigorous policy for the collection of news from all parts of India, and his enterprise led him even to print a paper in London summarizing each mail's news for despatch to his subscribers up country thus effectively counteracting whatever advantage the Bombay papers derived from the first peep at the mail. Later on, in the days of the Afghan War, he printed an edition of *The Englishman* in Delhi also. By these enterprising means he kept far in advance of his contemporaries. Almost simultaneously with his arrival in Calcutta the Press was made entirely free from Government control, and the paper benefited enormously from the strong, well informed, and thoroughly independent writers that he employed.

Dr Russell of *The Times* has often been spoken of as the first of war correspondents. But long before that great journalist had joined the staff of *The Times* Stocqueler had become a war correspondent. Indeed, he is one of the first duly accredited war correspondents on record. So great had the influence of *The Englishman* become, particularly in the army, for which it catered specially that in 1838 Stocqueler was invited to accompany the advance into Afghanistan. He touched the life of India, and of Calcutta especially, at many points. He embarked in many enterprises, and as an army agent—precursor one might almost say of the admirable Cox—he was a popular figure with the military. But he lost money in these concerns, and when in 1842, broken in fortune and dispirited, he cast the dust of India off his feet, he was comforted at the reflection that he was able to sell *The Englishman* for £13,000 after having derived a good income from it, and that he left the Press in India, which he had found childish in Bombay and weak in Bengal, in a state of healthy maturity, "literally the organ of public sentiment and a useful auxiliary of the Government."

By the forties of the last century the newspaper Press of India had acquired a position of authority and influence no less powerful than that of the Press in other parts of the British Empire. Circulations it is true, were not very great. But the spread of education was daily widening the circle of readers amongst the people of India, and with the growth of trade, the establishment of factories, and the opening up of the material resources of the country came an ever increasing influx of people from England and other countries. The new-comers were largely, if not chiefly men from the public schools and the Universities of England—men who had been brought up in a healthy and ever-widening atmosphere of constitutional freedom, who carried with them to their new homes the old ideals of freedom, the deep respect for authority, and the love for learning and good literature that have meant so much to the social life of England and the orderly development of its institutions of government. It was no small advantage to them to find in India a Press as powerful as it was free, and in the years of progress that followed the Press was destined to play a great part in India especially by keeping a somewhat self-centred bureaucracy in touch with public sentiment, native as well as British, and by encouraging the sober discussion of public affairs. It is to men like Buckingham and Stoqueler that we owe, in the first place, the foundation in India of a healthy Press inspired with the ideals that have always inspired the great journals of the United Kingdom.

They were succeeded by men of large views, whose attitude towards the problems that confronted them were inspired by an intense devotion to England and all that she stood for in the world of politics, and by a deep sympathy with the life that throbbed around them—a life just waking to political consciousness, and groping, often blindly and without native leadership, towards higher ideals of social and political betterment. Shallow and uninformed critics have often condemned the attitude of the Anglo-Indian

Press towards Indian problems, and especially towards the Mutiny. They conveniently forget the position of a small white community living and governing by prestige alone in the midst of a huge population too often swayed by waves of unreasoning fanaticism. And they derive their impression of the character and motives of the Anglo-Indian Press from a few stray expressions in letters to the editor and in correspondence written by men in remote and isolated stations, where the perils of existence seemed infinitely greater than they seemed to those situated in large centres of population, where the hand of authority was stronger and the influence of companionship more pacifying. It has always been the custom of Anglo-Indian editors to allow a large measure of freedom of expression to *moffussil* contributors and to writers of letters to the editor, but it must not too hurriedly be assumed that these writers reflected, still less governed the policy of the papers. In our day we may not defend many of the expressions that were used—the policy would now be to modify or expunge them, but it was greatly to the advantage of the Government of the day to know exactly what men and women in the remotest parts of India were feeling, and to appreciate the danger as far as possible from the point of view of those who were confronting it in their daily lives. But whether we justify or condemn the expressions that were used in the dust and heat of conflict, let us not be led into the belief that the papers in whose columns they appeared were swayed more by racial bitterness and political extravagance than by a statesmanlike survey of the problems that had to be faced and solved.

During the critical years of the Mutiny *The Englishman* was edited by William Cobb Hurry. He had come to India in 1825 as a private trader. In thirty years he had made sufficient money to allow him to dispose of his interests in indigo and other concerns, to purchase a share in *The Englishman*, and devote himself to his literary ambitions.

He had always taken a serious view of life and its problems, and when the Mutiny came, with all its terrors and alarms people turned from the frivolous type of literature which had hitherto satisfied them, to find comfort and guidance in a paper which, like *The Englishman* of that period, specialized in the gathering of important news and the sober discussion of public affairs. Reading through the files of the paper for that period even at this distance of time, one is struck by the moderation, the complete absence of sensationalism that they present. One may imagine how the sub-editor of to day would have gloried in sensational head-lines and vivid summaries set out in bold type. The pages of *The Englishman* presented a cool, unruffled surface, calm and determined, resolute and moderate as the great Power that was slowly but surely gathering its forces in order to suppress revolt and restore authority. *The Englishman* was served by a great army of correspondents most of them connected with the army, who supplied it with a constant stream of news regarding the Mutiny and the measures taken for its suppression. This news was collated and presented in a manner that our times would regard as dull, but in the moderation of its presentment, no less than in the sobriety of the editorial comments, we can recognize the hand of a master imbued with an immense sense of responsibility. There may have been indiscretions provoked by some violent outrage, but in the main the temper was restrained and dignified, reflecting with admirable judgment amidst the heart rending bitternesses of the time the sober determination of the British people to restore peace, and to continue to govern as much in the interests of the millions of India as in their own.

Space does not permit a mention here of the many brilliant and earnest men who from time to time conducted the journals of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Allahabad—the four great centres of Anglo-Indian newspaper activity

(To be continued)

OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

THE MUSIC OF INDIA By Rev H. A. Popley (*Oxford University Press*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

The European who undertakes to describe the music of India to European readers has not a few difficulties to surmount. He must express himself in terms of the European art because he knows no others and because he would otherwise be unintelligible to his readers. He must also glean his information from those who themselves ignorant of European music, and, therefore of its terminology have considerable difficulty in expressing themselves intelligibly upon their own art. He must think away all ideas of harmony and confine himself to melody, this, however, is less difficult than to adjust ideas to strange scales and strange times. Indian music like Greek and mediæval music is based on modes rather than scales the tempered scale of modern music is unknown to it. And as there is no notation as the subdivisions of tones differ and as there are special names for the notes with their sharpened and flattened variations, a special notation becomes necessary.

Mr Popley has evidently a very great admiration for the music of India, and has been at great pains to cultivate his knowledge. He has borrowed largely from Mr Fox Strangways, whose book on the music of Hindustan remains the principal European contribution for many years. Those who have heard the real Indian music and do not confuse it with the noises in the streets, or the strident accompaniment to a wedding procession, will fully sympathize with his protest against the condemnation of Indian music by the ignorant, or by those who have never tried to understand it. At the same time, it is equally impossible to accept the rhapsodies of some admirers who would raise Indian music to the rank of the Eternal Art, and by implication at any rate depreciate the glories of the music of Europe. Mr Popley has successfully avoided extremes. He pleads for a more frank recognition of the Indian art, but admits that, even in India, much remains to be done in the way of research and encouragement. He also suggests—and here we must fully agree—that children should be trained in Indian music. But let the missionaries set the example, if an example is needed. Let them stop teaching the children to sing praise to their Creator in doggerel rhymes set to debased tunes which they interpret in a musical language wholly foreign to them, and which performs its ‘sacred purpose connected with the regeneration of the human heart’ no better than does the croaking of the Indian frog or the cawing of the Indian crow. Let them teach the Lord’s Song in a musical language which appeals to the child let them set their Christian hymns in terms of Sanskrit hymns and set them to the music of India.

The three main divisions of Indian music—to speak loosely—are the scale, the rāgam, and the tala. Of the scale, something has already been

said, it is practically impossible to deal with the subject without becoming involved in mathematical calculations which naturally detract from a book, but at the same time are necessary to a scientific work. The rāgam has eluded most people, and Mr Popley has fared no better than the rest. He calls it 'the basis of melody in Indian music and a substitute for the Western scale.' Mr Fox Strangways has attempted a more precise definition, but admits that taken alone, it is almost unintelligible. Rāgam may be called as Captain Day has called it, a "melody type", "basis of melody" so far as it conveys anything, is neither better nor worse. But to call it the substitute of the Western scale is surely most misleading to the European reader.

It must be admitted that the tala is extremely difficult to convey to a student of the subject by means of the written word. The Indian talas have distinct rhythms which one feels to be inevitable, and which are, nevertheless, elusive. A European illustration will perhaps, explain how this comes about. Even those who lay claim to no very great knowledge of European music know the second movement of Tchaikowsky's B minor Symphony, which is written in the unusual $\frac{3}{4}$ time. Now if this time is changed to common or to $\frac{2}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{8}$ the whole character of the music disappears. The second section in particular loses its *lift*—it becomes either commonplace or formal. We are so accustomed to the stress on the first beat of a bar that when that stress comes later, or when the stress is on one bar and not on the next, there is something unfamiliar to us, something to which our ear fails at once to attune itself.

Mr Popley has something interesting to say about raga pictures which suggests, one may remark, a certain affinity between colour and music not unknown to Western musicians. Careful readers will notice that the prevailing colour in one raga is green, in another yellow, in a third, violet or red. These colours certainly do suggest the character of the melody type. The remarks on the five main note lengths are not so happy. In the first place he gives six and not five (only four are given by Mr Fox Strangways) and in the second, these note-lengths are said by Indian musicians to be archaic, and no longer in ordinary use.

The book is a useful guide to Indian music. It is supplementary to Mr Fox Strangways' work in that the latter is often too technical, or, at least, presupposes too wide a knowledge of music for the average reader. Mr Popley's work is of the more popular kind, and in certain particulars, he has succeeded in conveying a clearer idea to those who may have been puzzled by the more abstruse work. Any contribution which will serve a much neglected art is welcome, and if we cannot quite share Mr Popley's enthusiasm, we are at least, grateful for it.

THE MUSINGS OF A MISSIONARY By John A. Sharrock, M.A. (Croydon, Roffey and Clark.) 2s. 6d.

(Reviewed by J. B. PENNINGTON, I.C.S. rtd.)

As an old Tinnevely "bureaucrat" who spent nearly half his time in that district, and perhaps knew its missionaries of those days more inti-

mately than any official that ever went there it seems only right that I should say what I think of this little booklet by an old friend and alumnus of my old school, who always says exactly what he thinks with such trenchant vigour and frankness

As to the purely missionary part of his musings I shall say but little, because I knew very little of the internal administration of the mission but I always thought that a good missionary (and many of them, like Dr Caldwell, with whom I was always on intimate terms both before and after he became a Bishop, were very good), was of quite as much use in a district as any magistrate, and I am thankful to say we were always very good friends though I was never devoted to missions like some of my friends. Nor do I care to dwell on the very unsavoury subjects discussed on p 49 *et seq* but if there is any truth in the suggestion that heinous moral offences are sometimes condoned by the ecclesiastical authorities with the idea of hushing up a scandal it is most deplorable

Chapter VIII gives me an opportunity of saying something on a subject which is more familiar to me, and though, speaking generally I agree with Mr Sharrock's criticism of a vacillating policy, I still believe that 'conciliation' * is the right line to take to begin with, and that the repression of free speech as long as it does not incite to violence is most dangerous. Mr Gandhis strength lies in his policy of non-violence—whether he is sincere or not. If he sincerely inculcates the simple life (as Horace perhaps thought even he did) who shall blame him?—except, perhaps, for thinking he can put back the hands of time and acting in a way that he surely must know is bound to end in violence

Mr Sharrock's account of caste and the impossibility of reconciling it with any possible form of democracy is very forcible, and it is to be regretted that Mr Montagu could not have been made to understand what he was doing before he embarked on his wild career of so-called reform

It is a very small matter but considering the ignorance of people in this country it would have been better if Mr Sharrock had pointed out, what no doubt he knew, that the Indian civilian always pays a great part of his pension by deductions from his pay, and, if he is very lucky even more than he receives in pension

* By conciliation I do not mean constantly giving way as he says, but rather goodwill on both sides, and a sincere desire to arrive at a reasonable compromise.

THE SCOURGE OF CHRIST By M Paul Richard. (Madras Ganesh and Co) Rs. 3

The object of M. Paul Richard in writing his "Scourge of Christ" is, apparently to create a volume of witty and paradoxical sayings. In this he has succeeded, but, in many cases, truth is sacrificed to wit, while his attacks on all forms of orthodoxy, though often justified, are sometimes almost ludicrous in their sweeping statements. Occasionally, too, some of the maxims are so abstruse and paradoxical that few ordinary people with ordinary untwisted brains can understand them, though perhaps this may be due to mistranslation in some cases

Many of the maxims, however, are extremely true, startlingly true in fact, especially those dealing with "The Gospel of Prayer"—that is to say, if Section IV of that chapter is omitted. Section IV needs special mention as it sets forth vegetarian ideals and theories in no uncertain language. In order to show the spirit of the writer it may be as well to set forth a few of these maxims here. Thus, when speaking of our "Daily Bread," he says

"'Martyrized bodies'—the meaning we put on 'daily bread'

"'Grace before meat'—thanks to God for the present results of murder"

"'Dining room'—a funeral chamber dedicated to the rite of absorbing diversely spiced corpses

These maxims are all very well, but on what can a man live if he kills nothing? If he eats vegetables he must kill them first and who can say that they do not resent deeply being rooted up and thrown into boiling water simply because they have not the power of motion or of voicing an opinion? Possibly they are even more sensitive than animals. Who can say, then, that it is not just as much "murder" to uproot and boil a cabbage as to kill an ox and roast its flesh? The only difference is that the latter can show its objection while the former cannot.

It would hardly be fair to quote only such examples of the maxims as those just set forth without also giving some that show real flashes of insight. Let us, then, select a few. For instance M. Richard writes

"'Moralist'—one who has a high sense of other people's duties.

"If so many people choose evil rather than good, it is no doubt because they would rather be punished by God than by the Devil."

"Putrid water has sometimes the most shining surface."

"The shadows are the proof of the sun."

"Behold the coal!—embodied sunlight.

It is useless, however, simply to write a long list of selected quotations, however good or amusing, and it is equally impossible to describe all the thousand maxims satisfactorily in a limited space. A book could be written on each, for every one of them gives much food for thought. Sometimes one agrees with the maxims, sometimes they cause one to see things in a new light, while others provoke a spirit of controversy or even of annoyance. In whatever way they may strike one, however, the book is, nevertheless, well worth reading, and though its apparent object to the casual observer, is merely to be a compilation of witty remarks, as we observed above the real object is to elevate Asia and to point out the shortcomings of the European who looks down upon his Asiatic brethren with disdain. To quote his very words

Europe finds it natural to take one man of Asia as master and all his brothers as slaves."

Thou shalt love (regard?) thy neighbour—all peoples whatsoever black, yellow, white, African or Asiatic, strong or weak, small or great thou shalt 'love' as thyself.

At the same time it is evident that he expects a second Christ to come

from the East, the conception being very obvious both in the section dealing with "The Son of Asia" and in his "Canticle to Asia."

THE CHIRALA PERALA TRAGEDY By G V Krishna Rao. (*Ganesh*)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

The system of Unions in Madras on the principle of Local Self Government was apparently designed to meet those cases in which villages were too large to be left entirely to themselves without any attempt to introduce the necessities of modern civilization, and yet not large enough to be constituted municipalities with their much more elaborate machinery their more complicated needs, and their heavier taxation. There was however, a grave defect. The step from the Union to the Municipality was too sudden, the taxation under the Municipal Act was so greatly in excess of that under the Local Boards Act and the whole scheme of administration was on such a different scale that whenever it was proposed to turn a Union into a Municipality there was not unnaturally a vehement protest. This is apparently what happened at Chirala. Finding that protests had no result, the villagers under the new influences at work in India evacuated their houses and lived in huts in the fields, they even vowed to continue this uncomfortable mode of life until the new Municipality was countermanded.

Into the rights and wrongs of the case one cannot enter, because the pamphlet called 'The Chirala Perala Tragedy' amounts to frank propaganda. The leader of the movement, Mr Gopalakrishnagya, seized the occasion to instruct his people in the wickedness of the Government generally and was duly prosecuted. His statements are given in full and are not particularly interesting since they only show the customary violence of language coupled with the usual claim that the non-co-operator is preaching the gospel of love and hates neither the Englishman nor the English people but only the sins of that abstract thing called Government. The Publicity Bureau is 'answered' but it has not been allowed to speak for itself. Reading between the lines of the rather defective English, one sees that Mr Gopalakrishnagya is simply an enthusiastic follower of Gandhi who has seized upon the opportunity of a grievance to promulgate his leader's well known creed.

The root of the trouble lies in the want of a proper sliding scale by which the Union is merged gradually into the Municipality with the least possible disturbance either of taxation or of functions. The Union on the border line ought to be so constituted that it is very nearly a Municipality, the Municipality on the border line that it is very nearly a Union. We commend this suggestion to the authorities.

The Zemindar of Kurupam has done good service by addressing an 'Appeal' to his countrymen to look the facts of non co-operation and other methods of extreme agitation in the face. The pamphlet which is printed in three languages, English, Telugu and Oriya is written in the plain, sober language of common sense. If there is any criticism to be

made, it is that here and there the style is above the heads of the common folk to whom presumably it is addressed, and that the long extracts from the speeches of Lord Reading and Lord Willingdon might for the same reason have been paraphrased. But perhaps it is presumptuous to tell a Zemindar how to speak to his own people. The pamphlet is, in any case to be welcomed as the outspoken opinion of a great landholder in British India, and the Zemindar is to be congratulated on the public spirit he has shown at a time when the cause he has adopted has, for reasons not inherent in itself become unpopular.

S P R

FRENCH BOOK

L'ARABIE ANTÉISLAMIQUE Ign Guidi (Paris *Gauthner*) 1921

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C I E)

The lectures which Professor Guidi of the University of Rome delivered in 1909 before the newly founded University of Cairo, excited much attention but as they were published only in Arabic, the language in which they were first given, they have hitherto been accessible only to a narrow circle of readers. The author has often been asked to make them more generally available, and the French translation, recently published appears opportunely at a time when a wider interest has been excited in all matters that concern Arabia. Not that these lectures deal with modern conditions for they end with the period immediately preceding the rise of Islam but for the understanding of the movement initiated by Muhammad some knowledge is essential of the earlier history of Arabia, and of the conditions that led up to the expansion and the conquests of the Arab tribes. Materials are scanty, and a clear account of the Arabian peninsula during the two centuries preceding the Muhammadan era can only be drawn by collecting together data from varied sources, often difficult of interpretation. This Professor Guidi has done in an attractive manner in these four lectures on Christian and heathen Arabia before Muhammad, explaining particularly the relations of the Arabs to the Roman and Persian Empires and to the kingdom of Abyssinia.

SHORTER NOTICES

INDIAN TEXTS SERIES SIKSHA SAMUCCAYA Compiled by Santideva
(John Murray) 21s. net

It will be recalled that the manuscript of this book was brought from Nepal by Mr Cecil Bendall, and edited by him for the Russian Bibliotheca Buddhica. Three chapters are devoted to the avoidance of evil, and other subjects treated are "Purification from Sin," "Perfection of Patience," "Subjects of Intent Contemplation," etc. The text was compiled chiefly from the earlier Mahayana Sutras, and is a valuable compendium of Buddhist doctrine.

SIXTY YEARS OF INDIAN FINANCE By K T Shah (*P S King and Son*) 21s. net.

The author of this book has been Professor of History and Economics at St. Xavier's College, Bombay and Professor of Commerce at Mysore University. He surveys a wide field, inquiring into every source of revenue, and examining the whole machinery of financial organization. His final plea is as follows: "The author still keeps to his main contention that the only true and effective remedy (in currency and exchange) is to introduce a full, free, honest gold standard and gold currency, and place it—by legislative sanction—beyond the tinkering of all amateur financiers."

SOLDIERS OF THE PROPHET By Lieut. Colonel Murphy (*John Hogg*) 10s. 6d. net.

What distinguishes the above volume from many others dealing with the fighting during the Great War in the Near East is that it has some welcome introductory chapters dealing with previous events. The story begins with the Turkish expedition into the Hauran, and through the Arab revolt in Kerak, and the operations in Tangistan in 1913, through the main hostilities to a chapter on Constantinople in 1918. We commend particularly to our readers the chapter on the Turkish Army organization which contains much important matter.

ACROSS MONGOLIAN PLAINS By R C Andrews (*Appleton*)

The author is already known for his delightful volume entitled "Camps and Trails in China," which describes the First Asiatic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History. The above volume is the result of a year spent in Mongolia and Northern China on the second expedition. The author has purposely avoided scientific details, arguing that these will find their proper place in the Museum's official publication. The result has been a wholly successful book from the point of view of the general reader. Why do not other scientific travellers follow Mr. Andrews' example, and supplement their official reports by a simple account for the benefit of the public?

EDUCATIONAL SECTION

THE SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES A FIVE YEARS' SURVEY

(Specially contributed)

ON February 23, 1917, His Majesty the King formally opened the School of Oriental Studies and it therefore seems that a fitting moment has arrived to call the attention of the public to the degree in which this institution has in five years of existence justified the efforts of those who devoted so much time and labour to its establishment. It is unnecessary to recall the long history of unsuccessful attempts made in the preceding thirty years to meet this obvious national want, suffice it to say that it was the Committee appointed by H M Treasury under the presidency of the late Lord Reay in 1907 that finally led to the creation of the School of Oriental Studies in Finsbury Circus. In March 1910, the Secretary of State for India appointed a Departmental Committee under Lord Cromer to formulate in detail an organized scheme for the institution in London of a School of Oriental Languages upon the lines recommended in the Report of Lord Reay's Committee. The School actually began its activities in November, 1916, and at a period obviously unpropitious for its immediate development on thoroughgoing lines, for a variety of reasons connected with the difficulty of recruiting the best teachers, and of obtaining students among the youth of the country. On the other hand, it proved immediately useful in connection with the training of recruits for active service in the Near and Middle East, and, with the opening of the School, Army classes in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish were immediately formed. One of the main objects in placing

the School in the heart of the City was to be in close touch with those firms and banks dealing with the Near, Middle and Far East, and with the cessation of hostilities and the demobilization of the Army the number of students connected with commerce began to increase rapidly

The conversion of the general public to the view that enormous advantages are to be gained by the preliminary study of a foreign language before proceeding to the country in which that language is spoken is a laborious process but this view is gradually gaining ground. It is of course, self evident that an Englishman on his arrival in a foreign country has as a rule, neither time nor inducement to devote himself seriously to the study of the local vernacular. Arriving without any knowledge of the language he naturally associates generally with those who speak his own, while the process of adapting himself to new surroundings and making new acquaintances keeps his leisure hours fully occupied. If, on the other hand he arrives in the country with even an elementary knowledge of the grammar and a small working vocabulary he can at once begin to add to his stock of knowledge.

The concentration of the teaching in Oriental subjects in this School has furnished a further proof of the demand created by supply. A number of the languages taught here were included in the past in the curricula of University College and King's College, but though teachers were provided, students were very few and far between. Arabic and Persian, for example, which now attract such large numbers to this institution, were almost entirely neglected, although the teachers of these two languages at University College are now professors on our staff. Up to the present time over 1500 men and women have received instruction in this School, and in the Session 1919-20 the numbers reached 539. That the figures in the last two sessions show a slight decrease may be fairly attributed to the financial state of the City. The students represent a great variety of interests, including as they do, officers of the

Army and Navy, Colonial and Indian officers, business men, missionaries and undergraduates and postgraduates. However it has been the aim of the School from the outset, not only to give practical instruction in the vernaculars of Asia and Africa, but also to develop the higher branches of study in connection with the great classical languages of the East thus, as a centre of Oriental research this School offers facilities such as have never before been available in the British Isles. The School library is growing daily, and bids fair to become the finest Oriental library in Europe.

The School of Oriental Studies is a recognized School of the University of London, and its staff includes five University professors and four University readers. A number of its students have taken degrees in Oriental languages in the University, and among these there have been several natives of India of high attainments. It was hoped that the position of the School in the City of London would not only attract students from business houses trading with the East but would also lead to considerable financial support from such firms, the unstable condition of the finances of the City, however, has led to comparatively small response from this quarter, and, though the School has so amply justified its existence and further endowment is badly needed, the time does not seem propitious for making a fresh appeal to the public for the funds which are still required. On the other hand the support of the Government has been generous, and without it the School could not have reached its present high standard.

In the matter of language teaching, while the aim of the School is essentially practical, much importance is attached to scientific methods of study which tend towards the rapid and thorough acquisition of a competent knowledge of Eastern and African languages. Classes in phonetics and in the methods of linguistic study, which students are strongly advised to attend, form an important part of the curriculum. It sometimes happens that Europeans, and

particularly missionaries, are compelled to master languages that have never been properly studied or even reduced to writing. In such cases direct special instruction in the particular language may not always be possible in this country at present, but the School affords a preliminary training in the methods which should be used when these peculiar difficulties arise indicating how such languages should be studied and reduced to writing, and how their special characteristics should be recorded.

In all cases where circumstances permit, native speakers of the languages taught in the School are employed side by side with European experts who have made a special study of the particular language and this combination has been found to be peculiarly effective. The native teacher has the advantage in matters of niceties of pronunciation, thorough knowledge of idiom and natural fluency, while the European lecturer is in a better position to understand and meet the special difficulties of the European student, and also has, as a rule, a broader outlook and more comprehensive grasp of the subject.

It is hardly necessary to emphasize the special importance to missionaries of a thorough knowledge of the language of the people to whom they are to be sent and any time which they are able to devote to the acquisition of it before they leave this country will be well spent under the conditions which have been outlined above, while it need scarcely be added that every effort is made at the School of Oriental Studies to meet their special requirements. Many missionaries have already taken advantage of these facilities and it is desired to extend them still further, particularly in the case of medical missionaries, for whom there is much scope in India, China, and elsewhere, but who up to the present time have been scantily represented at the School.

While primarily intended for instruction in the languages spoken in those vast portions of the earth's surface, the School also provides teaching in the literatures, history, religions, and customs of the varied populations that inhabit them. It

has been found by experience that a thorough grounding in these matters, acquired in this country from trained teachers who have specialized in their several subjects, is an invaluable preparation for anyone who proposes to devote himself to work among the native inhabitants of these regions. It gives him an initial advantage over those who have not had such a course of preparation which not only facilitates his further studies abroad, but also systematizes them, thus leading in a shorter time to better results than can be obtained by the crude process of 'picking up' the desired information locally, often from inadequate teachers.

From time to time courses of lectures on particular religions such as Muhammadanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc., are given at the School, in which the characteristics of these different systems are explained and analyzed. Other lectures are devoted to the study of particular ethnic types and groups of populations, as well as to their history and the influences which have moulded them.

The following list shows the languages and other subjects in which the School gives or is prepared to give instruction: Amharic, Arabic, Armenian, Assamese, Bantu languages, Bengali, Buddhist literature, Burmese, Chinese, Dravidian languages, Ethiopic, Georgian, Gujarati, Gurmukhi, Hausa, Hebrew (modern), Hindostani (Urdu and Hindi), History, Indian law, Iranian languages, Japanese, Kaffir, Kanarese, Karanga, Kashmiri, Luchuan, Luganda, Malay, Malayalam, Marathi, Melanesian, Micronesian, Nepali, Nyanja, Palaeography, Pali, Panjabi, Papuan, Persian, Phonetics and Linguistics, Polynesian, Sanskrit, Sesuto and Sechuana, Shan, Shina, Siamese, Sinhalese, Swahili, Tamil, Telugu, Tibetan, Turkish, Yao, Yoruba, Zulu.

But this list must not be regarded as exclusive; cognate subjects for which a sufficient demand may arise will, if the circumstances permit, be added to the curriculum, and there are also inter-collegiate arrangements by means of which students of the School can study at other institutions of the University of London subjects which are already dealt

with in such institutions and are therefore not included in the School's own curriculum. A second list shows the public lectures which have been delivered at the School during its existence. These are open to the public generally as well as to the students of the School, and of course vary from year to year

PUBLIC LECTURES

FORLONG BEQUEST FUND LECTURES "Religion in India and China—Some Points of Comparison (Dr T W Rhys Davids) "The Way to Buddhahood (Professor de la Vallée Poussin) "The Mystery Man the Precursor of Laocius and Confucius (Professor E H Parker), Philosophy and Buddhism in Japan (Mr Yoshio Markino), Central Asia (Sir E Denison Ross), Mesopotamia (Mr R Campbell Thompson) "The Art of Asia (Mr Laurence Binyon) The Middle East (Professor A J Toynbee), "The Buddhist Literature of China" (Mr W M McGovern), "The Primitive Culture of India (Colonel T C Hodson) "The Hindu Culture of India (Dr L D Barnett)

INDIAN SUBJECTS Ancient India (Dr L D Barnett), 'Ceylon during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Mr M de Z Wickremasinghe), 'The Importance of Hindostani (Mr Yusuf Ali) 'Indian Family Life (Mrs N C Sen), 'Familiar Indian Animals (Mr F Finn), Shakespeare on the Hindostani Stage (Mr Yusuf Ali), Indian Orthography, or the Battle of the Characters (Dr John Pollen), 'The Novel in Bengal' (Dr J D Anderson) 'Indian Palaeography, two lectures (Dr L D Barnett) 'The Popular Literature of Northern India (Sir G Grierson) The Mogul Period of the History of India, five lectures (Mr A D Innes), The Development of Modern Educational Institutions in India, three lectures (Dr S A Khan), "Gujarat in the Time of Akbar (Sir E Denison Ross) "Secret Dialects or Argots in India (Dr T Grahame Bailey) The Thugs—the Assassins of the Eighteenth Century" (Dr T Grahame Bailey) 'The Hindu Doctrine of Grace (Dr L D Barnett) "An Introduction to Indian Music (Mr S. G Kanhere), 'Ramayana, the Great Sanskrit Epic (Mr S G Kanhere) The Early Mohammedan Dynasties of India (Sir E Denison Ross), The Portuguese in India (Sir E Denison Ross), 'The Causes of the Distribution of the Indian Languages (Mr E H C Walsh), 'The Ruined Crues of Ceylon, three lectures (Mr M de Z Wickremasinghe)

Chatanya and the Vaishnava Revival in the Sixteenth Century (Rev W Sutton Page), 'Some Cases I have Tried' (Mr A Sabonadière), "Racial Types in the Bombay Presidency" (Mr W Doderet) 'The Jains (Dr L. D Barnett), 'Tea and Rubber Industries in Ceylon" (Mr M de Z Wickremasinghe)

FAR EASTERN SUBJECTS 'Malay (Mr C O. Blagden), "The Three Quests of China (Rev Dr John Steele), "The Essential Ideas of the East (Japan) (Mr N Kato) 'A Forgotten Kingdom (Korea) (Mr

H Bonar), "The Superior Man of Confucianism (Rev S. B. Drake), 'A Chinese St. Patrick, Han Wen-kung, and the Crocodile (Rev Dr John Steele), 'The Nature and Use of Tones in Chinese and Other Languages (Professor Daniel Jones) 'Francis Share in Far Eastern Studies (Mr H L. Joly) "A Mediaeval Japanese Classic (Mr G B Sansom), Tibet (Mr E H C. Walsh), 'The Philosophy of Japanese Buddhism (Mr W McGovern) "The Buddhist Temples of Korea (Miss Hilda C Bowser), Chinese Customs and Etiquette (Mr A. N. J. Whyman), 'Chinese Philosophy (Mr M. C. James), "The Malay Peninsula' (Mr C O. Blagden) Among the Head Hunters of Formosa' (Mr W M McGovern) "Chinese Fiction (Dr Hopkyn Rees), Chinese Fairy Tales (Mr A. N. J. Whyman) "Chinese Folk Lore" (Dr Hopkyn Rees) 'Matriarchy in the Malay Peninsula (Mr C O. Blagden).

NEAR EASTERN SUBJECTS The Study of Arabic (Professor Sir F W Arnold) 'The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day (Miss M A Czaplicka), 'Arabic—the Language of Religion,' two lectures (Kwaja Kamaluddin) Syria (Mr A Sefi) 'Toleration in Islam (Professor Sir F W Arnold) "Arabic as a Medium of Education and Commerce (Mr A Sefi) Turkish Literature, four lectures (Dr E Edwards), Islam in its Relation to International Morality (Mr A Sefi) Modern Egypt' (Mr D A Cameron), 'Baháism (Mr Ahmad Safwat), 'The Scripts of Ancient Mesopotamia and their Decipherment the Origin of our Alphabet (Mr R Campbell Thompson), 'The Origin and Development of Persian Painting (Professor Sir F W Arnold), The Peoples of the Nile Valley, six lectures (Professor C G Seligman), "The Mosques of Cairo" (Sheikh Abd el Razek), 'The History and Literature of the Georgian People (Mr D Ghambashidze)

WEST AND EAST AFRICAN SUBJECTS "The Bantu Languages (Professor Alice Werner), The History and Geography of East Africa (Professor Alice Werner), 'Africa before 1500' ten lectures (Professor Alice Werner), Muslim Literature and Tradition in East Africa (Professor Alice Werner) "Africa in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," nine lectures (Professor Alice Werner), 'The Swahili Coast (Professor Alice Werner) "The Wakilindi Saga" (Professor Alice Werner), "European Expansion in Africa, ten lectures (Professor Alice Werner) 'Bantu Tribes of East Africa, six lectures (Professor Alice Werner), 'Bantu Mythology and Folk Lore (Professor Alice Werner), "The Swahili Poem on the Ascension of the Prophet" (Professor Alice Werner) "The Hausa Language" (Mr J Withers Gill)

MISCELLANEOUS "Oriental Characteristics in the Divine Comedy (Mr Herbert Baynes) 'Moorish Monuments of Mediaeval Spain' (Dr A S Yahuda), The Animistic Basis of Eastern Religions' (Rev Dr John Steele)

No account of the work of the School would be complete without emphasis being laid on the part played by the Director in assuring its success and permanency

Sir E. Denison Ross has been identified with its work from the very beginning, which, it will be remembered was during the Great War. He had, therefore, to contend with manifold difficulties. There can be no question that he was eminently suited to grapple with such an arduous task. It gave ample scope to his gift for organization and his linguistic knowledge. Already in early years the study of Oriental languages proved for him great fascination. After a course in Paris, and at the University of Strasbourg, where he was a pupil of Professor Noldeke, he travelled extensively in Asia Minor, Central Asia, Persia and China. In 1896 he was appointed Professor of Persian at University College, London, and in 1901 passed to India, where he held for ten years the position of Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah. For three years he was in charge of the Records of Government of India, and then returned and became identified with the work of the British Museum in London. The importance of his services during the war are well known, as also the rapidity with which he mobilized all the talents of the newly-founded School for the conflict. He has laid the foundations of this great institution, he has erected the edifice in close co-operation with his staff. It is to be hoped that for a long time to come he will be able to direct its destinies.

ARTS AND CRAFTS SECTION

[*This feature is introduced for the first time and is designed to stimulate interest in a subject which is deserving of greater attention* —ED ASIATIC REVIEW]

INDIAN EXHIBITS AT THE WHITE CITY

THERE are welcome signs that Indian Arts and Crafts are once more receiving a fair share of attention. Before the days of mass production in factories, Indian objects of art were greatly esteemed, and found their way into the palaces of the wealthy. But the changes in the conditions of trading during the last century caused a serious setback in the expansion of these products. It was, therefore, a happy idea of the Government of India to take a direct interest in the revival of these industries. Moreover it is argued that during bad seasons and the failure of the Monsoon such work would form an important means of livelihood and help to combat the ravages of famine. The task of the Government therefore, was threefold

(1) To encourage the revival of these arts and crafts, (2) to supply craftsmen with good material on which to exercise their skill, (3) to arrange for the ready sale of the finished product. A visit to the British Industries Fair in London this year showed how far this campaign had developed since 1920 when there was only a small stall to exhibit the products of the United Provinces and Bombay. Now we have the Punjab and Burma as newcomers and the visitor can gain a very fair idea of the arts and crafts of those parts from the exhibits that are shown. Taking the United Provinces first, we were greatly struck by the Moradabad brass ware. This took the form of trays, urns, teapots, boxes, and candelabra. Other striking features were the Nagina ebony work and Nizamabad pottery. In connection with the sale of these articles, Government, in harmony with their policy of placing these industries under local control have established at Lucknow an emporium for the collection and inspection sale and export, of the more artistic goods manufactured in these provinces.

The Punjab section showed a large number of articles made of wood and inlaid with ivory, or brass and copper. The wood used is Shisham which is very strong and durable, and of a beautiful colour when polished. It is pointed out that the ivory inlay is thick, and not of veneer only. Thus these articles can be rubbed down and repolished without damage. Space forbids a detailed description of the many articles of lacquer work. In the best work the coloured lac is laid on the wood in successive layers of different colours, and the pattern is then chased with a graver through the upper layers down to the colours beneath, thus forming a very permanent decoration.

Burma offers a large number of large umbrellas, which are very beauti

fully made and, we are assured, extremely strong. Some are large enough to serve as marquees. They are all thoroughly waterproof. Other attractive exhibits are textiles, ivory work, and some beautiful silver ware. These articles are in charge of Mr H B Holme I.C.S., Director of Industries, Burma.

The Bombay exhibits comprise carpets, silks, brocaded dress materials and a large variety of articles in sandal wood.

Enquiries regarding all the above articles should be addressed to the Director of Industries in the various provinces, c/o the Indian Trade Commissioner, 60 Winchester House, E.C. 2. It may be added that the encouragement of these industries is a very important movement which is being greatly appreciated in India. Their artistic value is unquestionable, and we see no reason why they should not secure a much larger sale in this country.

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EXHIBITION OF ARMENIAN DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

An exhibition of great interest to students of Near Eastern art was recently held at the Victoria and Albert Museum. It consisted of a representative selection of the water colours and pencil sketches of Mr A. Fetvadjan, the well known Armenian artist, whose work attracted much attention at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, in the Spring of 1920.

This artist has devoted twenty years of his life to his self-appointed task of revealing and recording the ancient architectural glories of his country. Students of Diehl, Stryzowski and Rivoira have been vaguely conscious that the plains and uplands of Armenia hold the half buried and much battered relics of a unique Christian civilization whose flowering-time lasted from the sixth to the thirteenth century A.D. The greatest number of existing ruins are to be found in the districts of Ani, Ererouk, Maghasberd and Horomos, formerly in Russian Armenia. There, palaces, fortresses, churches and triumphal arches crown the deeply riven volcanic rocks above the pallid and profound River Akhourshan. From the exquisitely graceful little chapel of the Citadel to the great cathedral there is not one fabric that does not bear the scars of many struggles against man and Nature. That they still stand is evidence of the fine craftsmanship of the masons who jointed the blocks of tufa so accurately over their concrete core that, after more than a thousand years, the stones cannot be dislodged.

The Fetvadjan exhibition also contains a series of twelve vivid water colour sketches illustrating the native dress of Armenian women in different vilayets. Most of these examples betray strong traces of Turkish and Persian influence, but in the full-skirted, fur-edged surcoat worn by the matrons of Erivan it is interesting to descry a far-off resemblance to European masculine costume of the early sixteenth century.

All these pictures are being exhibited at the Royal Institute of British Architects, Conduit Street, W. 1, from April 19 to 30.

ORIENTALIA

‘ SHINAR OF THE OLD TESTAMENT DISCOVERED TO BE THE ANCIENT SUMERIAN NAME OF BABYLON

AND DISCLOSING THE HISTORICAL ORIGIN AND PURPOSE OF THE ‘ TOWER OF BABEL ’

By L A WADDELL, LL D

HITHERTO Assyriologists have failed to find any trace of the Old Testament name for Babylonia, ‘ Shinar,’ in the historical records of Babylonia or elsewhere

The name ‘ Shinar ’ or “ Sh n-ar,” the “ Sennaar ’ (*σεννααρ*) of the Septuagint version, occurs eight times in the Old Testament,¹ and has been assumed to be a name for Babylon or Babylonia, from the details given in the references to it in Genesis in connection with Nimrod, the Tower of Babel, and Abraham. There we read “ And the beginning of his [Nimrod’s] kingdom was Babel and Erech [the modern Warka²] and Accad and Calneh *in the land of Shinar* ”³ It was the site of the “ Tower of Babel ”⁴ and one of the four invading kings of Palestine whom Abraham is described to have despoiled was “ Amraphel *king of Shinar*, ”⁵ who is generally identified with Khammu-rabi the famous historical king and lawgiver of Babylon about 2225 B C. of whose inscribed monuments and actual original official letters so many are still extant.

Reviewing the ancient names for “ Babylon ” (which itself is of later coinage) in the Early Sumerian (or pre-

¹ Gen. x. 10, xi. 2, xiv. 1 and 9, Josh. vii. 21, Isa. x. 11, Dan. i. 2, Zech. v. 11.

² Warka on the old course of the Euphrates to the north-west of Ur the modern Mukayyar.

³ Gen. x. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* xi. 2-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, xiv. 1 and 9.

Semitic) and later cuneiform (or wedge-headed script) documents, in a search for this name "Shinar," I observed that the word-signs for the name translated "Babylon" were usually transcribed by Assyriologists as "Tin tir" ¹ As this makes a form of name otherwise wholly unknown to classic history, it was presumably a more or less arbitrary, if not fictitious, transcription as so many of such "restored" names have proved to be. Further examination showed that in that transcription the end portion of the name restored as "tir" really consisted of two syllabic word signs which however were treated as forming only one, with a wholly different phonetic value to that possessed by these two component signs when read separately and individually

On my reading these latter two word-signs for 'Babylon' separately by their ordinary Sumerian phonetic values I found that they yielded the name "She-nir," ² with the literal meaning of 'The great Tower of Grain' ³ This thus disclosed obviously the Sumerian source of the Hebrew name of 'Shinar' or "Sennaar" for Babylon, as well as presumably the real origin and purpose of the "Tower of Babel" in the land of Shinar And it showed incidentally that the Septuagint form of that name preserved faithfully the original Sumerian first vowel which is incorrectly rendered *z* in the Massoretic Hebrew tradition

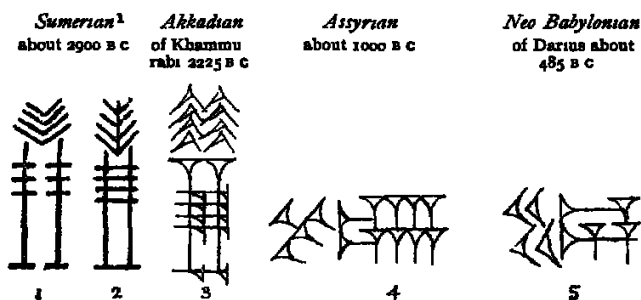
¹ See for example J D Prince, *Sumerian Lexicon*, 1908 p 333 But most modern Assyriologists with unwarranted licence transcribe these signs of Tin-tir as "Bāb-il" or Babylon Thus L W King in 'Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings, II, arbitrarily transcribes these signs systematically as "Bāb-il", notwithstanding they possess no such values (see pp 11, 17, 18, 48, 50, 67, 70, 78, 81, 195), and without any remark that such liberty has been taken

² For these constituent word signs, their phonetic values and definitions, see for *She*, grain, J D Prince, 'Sumerian Lexicon', p 311 G Barton 'Babylonian Writing', No 323 and p 168 G Howardy *Clavis Cuneorum* (Leipzig 1904 1915) No 349 and p 75, and for *Nir*, great tower" see Prince *op cit*, p. 262, Barton, *op cit* No 282 and p. 146, Howardy *op cit*, No. 300 and Thureau Dangin, "L'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme, Nos 140 and 73

³ See references in above footnote.

This new reading of the old city-name of Babylon and its meaning, obtained by means of transcribing its constituent syllabic signs by their separate values, is conclusively confirmed by the pictorial form of these signs themselves, which are here reproduced in the accompanying illustration. In this are given the varying forms of writing the city-name "She-nir" for Babylon as it is written in the Early Sumerian documents of about 2950 B.C., down through the ages, through the periods of Khammu-rabi and the Assyrian domination to the latest Neo-Babylonian of the Medo-Persian occupation of Darius, 485 B.C. For all through these periods these two signs were regularly used in official documents in writing the name of the city latterly known as "Bābīl" or "Babylon."

NAME OF SHE-NIR OR SHINAR CITY IN SUMERIAN AND
CUNEIFORM SCRIPT



It will be seen from this illustration that the Early Sumerian style of writing the city-name of She-nir (or "Shinar") with the meaning of "The great Tower of Grain" actually pictures graphically by its word-signs, in linear drawing, "Ears of Corn" on the top of a "Tower." In writing by such pictographs the Sumerian scribes laid

¹ The first of the Sumerian set of these two associated word signs is from the documents of King Entemena in Sarzec's 'Découvertes en Chaldée,' pl. 5 bis, No. 12, V 4 and the second is from the inscription of King Manistusu, Face C. xvi. 16

the signs on their left side (which are re-erected to their original position in the figure), and the later curtailed forms of writing those early pictographs were the result of the later scribes reducing more and more the number of strokes for celerity in writing with their wedge-headed (or 'cuneiform') style, yet still preserving something of the general form of the parent Sumerian pictograph¹

This strikingly discloses that the famous "Tower of Babel" of the Hebrew legend situated in the centre of the rich alluvial plain of the Euphrates 'in the land of Shinar'—properly She-nir—was originally about 3000 B.C., a great Sumerian state granary for storing corn, presumably as an insurance against famine. For we find from the great number of dedicatory economic records of the Early Sumerians that they were in the habit of erecting large state granaries in their cities and several of the actual structural foundations and walls of some of these Sumerian granaries of about 3000 B.C. have been unearthed by the spade of French and American archæologists at Shirpurla (the modern Tello) and other dead cities in Lower Babylonia.

The prefix to the above abbreviated city-name with the phonetic value of *Tir* or *Ti*² is defined in the Assyrian bilingual glosses as meaning 'Life, Live,' also "Wine (of Life?),"³ and secondarily "Forest."⁴ It thus appears either to describe grain as "The Staff of Life," or indicate that wine also was stored in the great Tower of the city of She nir (or Shinar), while the sense of 'Forest' may possibly preserve the memory of the primeval forest which formerly occupied the site.

In this regard it seems noteworthy that the name

¹ From Khammu-rabi's 'Laws,' XII 25

² *Ti* is also a value of this sign. See S. Langdon 'Sumerian Grammar,' p. 296, and G. Contenau, "Tablettes Cappadociennes," Paris, 1919 No. 96

³ See Prince, *op cit*, 332, Barton, *op cit*, p. 128, No. 425

⁴ Pinches, "List of Cuneiform Signs" No. 180

"T₁-she" formed by the first two of the three syllables of this old city-name, T₁ she-nir," is the title of the Hittite "God of Grain and Wine" in the old rock-sculptures, cuneiform tablets, and cylinder seals of the Hittites, the time immemorial ruling race of Asia Minor and the Hittites also used Sumerian cuneiform script with its Sumerian meanings and phonetic values¹ In the ancient colossal rock-sculpture at Ibriz in Lykonia Cilicia to the north-west of Mesopotamia, the Hittite god, T₁ she, is figured as the vegetation-deity and prototype of him whom the Greeks later called "Dionysos" and the Romans "Bacchus" He is there depicted in what is now known as 'Scythian' dress, carrying in his hands a bunch of grapes and stalks of corn, and is being worshipped by a devotee who has apparently Semitic features And the word sign for this T₁ is considered by Assyriologists to picture a leaf of the grape vine²

This "T₁ she," Corn and Wine spirit of the Hittites, was also called in dialectic variants 'Tishab,' 'Teshab,' and "Teshub"³ It thus seems, I think, that the name of the city called "T₁-sha ab' or "T₁-shu u-ab, in a Hittite tablet,⁴ is a Hittite form of the name 'T₁ she-nir' for Babylon

The fuller form of the old name of this city, which was latterly called "Babylon"—namely "T₁ she-nir"—is frequently employed regularly in official Babylonian documents down to the very latest Medo-Persian period,⁵ though it is arbitrarily transcribed as well as translated "Babylon" by

¹ This fact was first noted by Pinches in 1881 and has since been profusely confirmed by Sayce, Winckler, Hrozný and others See Contenau, *op cit.*, 113 f for the signs in question in the Hittite-Cappadocian

² See Barton, *op cit.*, p. 218.

³ Or "Tessub," as read by Sayce and others

⁴ See Contenau, *op cit.*, text No. 15 line 9, and pp. 85 and 126 The second reading is mine

⁵ For instances of its use in the contract tablets of Babylon in the period of Darius, see Pinches "Babylonian Tablets of Berens Collection," Nos. 106, 107, and 108

Assyriologists¹ The first syllable of this name was obviously omitted by the Hebrews in forming their 'Shinar' or "Sennaar". The first two syllables of the name were also often omitted by Babylonians in writing the name, presumably for brevity, and only the last—namely, "Nir"—employed to designate the city name. This 'Nir' is undoubtedly the real phonetic value of the word sign which is usually transcribed by Assyriologists as *E*, as the short title for Babylon, for it is the self same sign as the end one in the full title, as above, though it chanced to be in its later abbreviated shape also of the same form as the later *E* sign in Neo-Babylonian²

The short name for Babylon of "Nir" suggests to me the possibility that the old channel of the Euphrates flowing southwards from Babylon to the junction with the old Tigris above Erech (or Warka) now called by the modern Arabs "Shatt en *Ni*", or "The Channel of *Ni*", may have derived this title from the old contracted name of "Nir" for Babylon. For the letters *l* and *r* are freely interchangeable dialectically in Arabic, and to some extent in most other languages, as for instance, in the Old English

Hal" for "Harry". And it is a common practice in the East, as in the West, to call a section of a river or channel after the name of the chief town to which it leads.

The latter-day form of this city name as "Babylon" is

¹ Instances of this arbitrary transcription of the word-signs of this name as 'Bāb-il' or Babylon are cited in footnote 1 p. 2. And even Thureau Dangin for example, similarly so transcribes it habitually without remark. On the other hand Pinches is careful to note that the signs in question do not read 'Bāb il' or Babylon, but 'Tin dir' as he reads the 'Tin dir' of other Assyriologists, who however do not give the last two signs of the triad their separate syllabic values.

² The word sign for *E*, which means a "reservoir," is No. 109 of Thureau Dangin, *op cit* 263 of Barton *op cit* 279 of Howardy *op cit*, and p. 92 of Prince *op cit*. And though somewhat resembling the *Nir* sign is never used in or for the title of Babylon in all the many early inscriptions I have examined—the *Nir* sign a distinctly different sign and numbered differently in above-cited lexicons as Nos. 73, 282 (and compare 329), 300, and p. 262 respectively.

purely Semitic and non Sumerian. It is derived from the Akkadian or Assyrian Semitic "Bāb-il lu," meaning "Place of the Gate of God," with reference to its great temple of the Father god, Mar-duk, there—for the puerile Hebrew etymology of the name given in Genesis has been long discarded by scholars. And this Semitic title of the last great capital city of Mesopotamia was latterly Hellenized by the Greeks into "Babylōn" as we now know the name in classic and modern literature. This Semitic name for their city was written by the Babylonians as was their custom, in script of Sumerian origin, for the Akkado Assyrian Semites appear to have possessed no script of their own, but adopted the Sumerian word signs, to which they gave Semitic equivalents with the same meaning from their own vernacular. It thus happens that the Semitic name of "Babylon," *Bāb il lu*, spells, I find, by the Sumerian value of its word-signs, *Ka-ash-ra*¹ rather than "Kadingir-ra" as it has hitherto been transcribed.

This 'Ka-ash ra' Sumerian title of the old capital city as "The Place of the Gate of God," semiticized by the Akkado Assyrians into "Bāb-il-lu, or Babylon, is now disclosed to be obviously the Sumerian source of the title "Kashdim" so frequently applied by the Hebrews throughout the Old Testament to Babylon and Babylonia, as an alternative to "Shinar," and a name hitherto an unsolved puzzle to Assyriologists and Biblical scholars. This Hebrew title of 'Kashdim' is arbitrarily rendered in our English version of the Old Testament as "Chaldea," because the latter equivalent is used in the Septuagint Greek version. It is now seen, however, that the Hebrew

¹ This second syllable (*ash*) is usually rendered *dingir* by Assyriologists having arbitrarily selected the latter equivalent out of several different phonetic values for this sign. But this Sumerian syllabic word-sign for "god" also possesses the value of "Ash" (see Brūnnow's "Sumerian Classified List" 419 Prince *op cit*, p 41—where it is noted that *Ash* also means "grain, cereal" as well as "god"—and Howardy, *op cit*, No 13 p 19). And I have observed that the Sumerians undoubtedly used the *Ash* value of this sign in spelling historical names.

Kashdim ' is manifestly an error of the later Hebrew copyist scribes for "Kashrim, as the Hebrew letters *d* and *r* are so very similar in form that they are frequently mistaken by copyists, and in small writing and even in modern print a magnifying lens is almost necessary to distinguish the difference. The affix *im* in the Hebrew is the sign of the plural thus "Kashr-im" (or Kashd im) means literally "The *Kashr* (or *Kashd*) Lands, or 'People of *Kashr* Lands—that is to say 'The Land of *Ka ash-ra* (or *Babylon*) of the Sumerians

For the use of the word 'Kashdim (or properly "Kashr im') in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament—rendered "Chaldea" in our English version—shows that it is repeatedly applied to designate "The Land of Babylon," and not merely Lower Babylonia bordering the Persian Gulf, to which Chaldea is now generally believed to have been restricted. Thus Ezra (v 12) says *Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babel (Babylon) the Kashdā*" (and similarly Jeremiah xxi 4 and xxii 5). And Daniel states (i 14) that this Babylonian king taught in his palace the learning and tongue of the *Kashd-im*. Isaiah (xlviii 20) says, "Go ye forth of Babylon flee ye from the *Kashdim*" Ezekiel (xxiii 15) says, *the sons of Babylon Kashdim the land of their nativity*. And Isaiah (xliii 19) says, *Babylon the glory of the kingdom the beauty of the Kashdim*. This 'Kashd-im,' as we have seen, is clearly a copyist's mistake for "Kashr im," or 'The Kashrs," the plural of the *Ka ash-ra* title of the Sumerians for Babylon and therefore equivalent to "Babylonia" or "The Lands of Babylon."

But side by side with "Ka ash-ra," or "Bāb-il-lu" (or "Babylon"), or "Place of the Gate of God" the other old Sumerian title for that city of *Ti-She-nir* (or "Shinar"), or "The Great Tower of Grain and Wine" with its abbreviated form of "Nir," continued to be used freely in official documents down to the very latest Babylonian period, as we have seen.

Thus we find by this new evidence that

(1) the ancient Sumerian name for Babylon was *Ti-She-nir* or "The great Tower of Grain and Wine," designating it as the site of a great Sumerian state-granary tower,

(2) an abbreviation of this name is the Sumerian source of the name "Shinar" uniquely preserved in Hebrew tradition as a title for Babylon and The Land of Babylon,

(3) a still further abbreviation of that Sumerian name was *Nir* and not *E*, as hitherto supposed,

(4) the Hebrew legend of "The Tower of Babel" rested on an historical basis, although the economic purpose of that tower was misrepresented and embroidered with fiction in the Hebrew legend,

(5) another Sumerian religious title for this city was "Ka-ash-ra" or 'The Place of the Gate of God' designating it as the centre of the cult of the Father god, Mar-duk,

(6) the Semitic Akkado Assyrian translation of this name was *Bāb-il lu*, the source of the 'Babel' of the Hebrews, and latterly grecianized into "Babylōn"

(7) this Sumerian name of 'Ka ash ra' was the source of the Old Testament name of 'Kashdim' for Babylon and The Lands of Babylon, in which the Sumerian title was corrupted by later Hebrew copyist scribes mistaking *r* for the very similar letter *d* and adding the Hebrew plural affix *im* to designate the 'The Lands of *Kashr*, properly *Ka sha ra*—a name rendered in our English version of the Old Testament as 'Chaldea',

(8) and "Chaldea" of that version is disclosed to embrace *Babylonia*, both Lower and Upper

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY'S
EXCAVATIONS AT EL-AMARNA, 1921-1922

BY H R HALL, D LITT, F S A

THE Egypt Exploration Society has continued its excavations at El Amarna this season with considerable success, and has made discoveries of great interest. The expedition was under the direction of Mr C L Woolley, assisted by Mr F G Newton as architect by Mr Battiscombe Gunn, and by Mr P L O Guy. Mr Woolley reports that his work has covered four distinct areas: (1) the 'walled village' site, discovered and partly excavated last year by Professor Peet, (2) the sight of a pavilion or pleasure garden of King Akhenaten, (3) that of a temple near the river, and (4) part of the town site. Of these the most important is (2). The enclosure measured about 200 metres by 100 with an annexe of some 160 by 80 metres. The entrance was a columned hall with pylons and gates built of stone with rich decoration of which many remains were recovered. On the north side stood a building of three main courts in the first of which stands a raised throne approached by shallow steps and probably once covered by a baldachin. The central peristyle court curiously resembles a Roman atrium with, in the centre, a small hypæthral space like an impluvium in which were flower-beds. On the walls of the back court were designs painted in *tempera*. This building seems to have been some sort of hall of audience. In the north west corner of the enclosure lies a 'water-court' with tanks, on the sides of which, above water-level, are painted lotuses and other water-plants with vines on trellises above them. All round this court runs a pavement of painted stucco, bearing the same designs as were found by Petrie in the Northern Palace. The pavements have been

lifted and set in plaster for the removal to England. One very interesting fact about this building is that in it the name of Nefertiti, Akhenaten's sister-queen, has been erased and that of her daughter Meritaten substituted and even her portrait has been altered to that of the princess. This can hardly be due, Mr Woolley thinks, to anything other than a quarrel with the queen and her divorce—a new fact in our knowledge of the reign.

On (3), the temple site, Mr Woolley established the continuous occupation of the western part of the site after the desertion of the main town and up to the twenty-sixth dynasty. In (4), the town, the house of the Vizier Nekhtpaaten has been cleared with interesting results.

In all, forty-six boxes of antiquities have been packed for transmission to England and will be shown at the Society's exhibition next July, after which they will, as usual, be distributed to museums in Britain, Europe, and America, the Cairo Museum having already taken its *quotum*.

Owing to the great cost of travelling and transport at the present time, the Society does not propose to excavate next season, and has this year worked a double season instead. Naturally if increased subscriptions and donations justified it, this policy might be reconsidered. In any case, the exploration of Amarna will be pursued systematically, and if funds permit the excavation of the Osireion at Abydos will be resumed. This prospect depends however, entirely on financial considerations and those who have archaeological work in Egypt at heart can help by forwarding their subscriptions to the Secretary of the Society at 13 Tavistock Square, W.C. 1, who will gladly afford all information with regard to terms of full membership of the Society, its publications, and the use of its fine library of Egyptological books, chiefly presented by Sir Herbert Thompson, which is now open to subscribers.

EXCAVATIONS IN PALESTINE

The Annual Meeting of the British School of Archæology was held at King's College on March 7, the chair was taken by Sir Frederick Kenyon, K.C.B. Professor Garstang, Director of the School, who is shortly returning to Palestine, gave a very interesting account of the work which is being done under the auspices of the School. He stated that he regarded archæology in Palestine not only in the light of unearthing beautiful works of art, but also as a means of increasing our knowledge of the ancient peoples of Palestine. At present the great problem of the identity of the Canaanites, Hittites Amorites, and Philistines, was confused. He hoped however, that in the course of a very few years material would be available which would enable them to have a clear idea of the nature and distinguishing characteristics of each of these peoples.

He stated that no less than eight expeditions were or would shortly be, at work in the Holy Land. The French Archæological School was working at New Jericho, the Jewish Archæological Society at Tiberias, and the Franciscan Monks at Capernaum. Besides these there were the Palestine Exploration Fund excavating at Ascalon, and three American Universities—Philadelphia at Basan, Harvard at Samaria, and Chicago at Megiddo.

Referring to the British work the Director laid stress on the discoveries at Ascalon. There they had found columns of great beauty forming cloisters. These had been erected by Herod the Great, and were mentioned by the historian Josephus. It was regarded as highly probable that this edifice had been erected on the top of the Philistine sanctuary.

After describing the organization of the Central Museum in Jerusalem he enunciated the policy of setting up local museums under local guardians for the conservation of objects of immediate local interest. Another important

task was that of protection—i.e., of defending the monuments from erosion. One example of this work was the safeguarding of the famous Crusade Castle of Athlet which is situated on a spit of land just south of Mount Carmel.

The Chairman made special reference to the continued generosity of the Hon. Treasurer of the School, Mr. Robert Mond, who had contributed a further £395 towards the expenses of the year, without this contribution it would not have been possible to balance the accounts after making provision for the current year.

CORRESPONDENCE

A FAIR HEARING AND NO FAVOUR
-----'LORD READINGS TASK IN INDIA' A
CRITICISM

SIR,

In the July issue of this magazine, Mr Stanley Rice in his article 'Lord Reading's Task in India' has sought to analyze carefully the causes of unrest in India. Having made a thorough survey of the political outlook, he drew out a genesis of unrest, and it seems to me he attributes the cause to the lack of British justice in India and thus he believes, if the whole machinery of British justice be properly overhauled on the principle of equality the wrong in the machine of administration will be removed and the administration in India, like the former days, will be made smoother and easier. His belief is the common asset of an English politician, and naturally he believes justice must be the stronghold. But other causes prevail. A little study of and deliberation over the history of India will at once point out that Indians were never apathetic to foreign rule. Invaders after invaders came and settled there. India, instead of rising up against them, founded homes for them and they were enlisted in her list of castes. It is a common fact that the hand of Providence has disciplined India into sobriety, all Indians of all classes depend upon their religious and social notions and feelings, and only with great difficulty could they be interested in political affairs. Exceptional risings in the deserts of Rajputana, or in the sandy hills of Marhatta or in the jungles of Bengal may be explained away with ease. In these cases, either the family prestige or ambition or greed prompted the local Rajas to rise up against the then central Government. Their adherents were generally myrmidons who must not be confused with the zealous citizens of the west, fighting for the cause of liberty. They also like their masters, fought and died to secure their material object and to have their ambitions fulfilled. The people were sometimes, of course, roused up to gird up their loins and invited to fight when their religious scruples were trampled upon. These risings may sometimes have taken the form of national rising. But those who fought never intended to drive out the foreign rulers. The redress of their grievances was the right motive of the mutiny although the mass thought otherwise. India believes in the divine rights of her kings, they are the sincere reverers of the throne, and felt the cause of loyalty ennobled by its alliance, not with freedom, but with religion. Asoka, Siladitya, Kaniska, and others ruled over a mighty empire and a vast mass of contented

subjects, because their policies were wedded with religion Akbar read the inner spirit of India with the prophetic eye of a seer, he also succeeded in cutting the Gordian knot, though a Muhammadan his rule was welcomed, the Hindu community worshipped him as a lesser deity next to the Almighty only The bigotry of Aurangjib sapped the foundation of Mogul rule and the whole fabric collapsed like a pack of cards

With the introduction of the British rule in India the horizon of India was broadened, her isolation was broken off, she came in contact with a mightier continent and with a race known throughout the world on account of their enterprise Railways and sea-going vessels shortened the distance, quickened communications, transport became easy The scarcity of one province began to be met with from the superfluity of another Up to this time the Indians were enjoying a sound sleep in their comparative abundance and superfluities the introduction of commerce introduced a new factor into their social life First a part of their superfluities, and afterwards a major portion, began to be shifted from one province to another till the economic laws became fully manifest, and one price came to prevail in nearly all the markets minus, of course the transport charges The easy means of communication threw open the gates of intermigration among the people of the different provinces The hardy people of less favoured provinces migrated to rich provinces, and by dint of their perseverance and industry began to pile up fortunes They were the more easily able to do so because the fear of foreign invasion became practically nil when India came completely under the English rule Thus exploitation of one province by the people of another province began unconsciously The evil effects, though not felt at the beginning became manifest when the whole atmosphere changed and exploitation of Indian resources by the foreign merchants began on a more scientific basis with more thoroughness and deliberation Even the hardy and speculative races of India had to submit before the onrush of the new comers, and instead of becoming merchants and traders they had to remain satisfied in the rôle of brokers and middlemen only Even the rich men with capital to invest found no opportunity to capture the international trade The coal jute and iron industries of Bengal, the tea industry of Assam were started with English capital and skill, even the Indian branches were mainly staffed by Europeans The Indians were asked only to work either as clerks or as coolies The economic distress of the people became manifest, to earn one's bread became an uphill task which had been formerly very easy in India Milk fish, and common vegetables are the chief ingredients of Indian food Plenty of milk could be had even between forty or fifty years ago I, in my young days have seen the milkmen selling twenty seers milk for one rupee Rice the main food of the Bengalees, was sold at Rs. 2 per maund I am not narrating a golden age, but what I am describing here is the early recollection from my younger days This cheapness began to disappear when export of raw materials was organized by the European merchants with the introduction of steam engines and with the advent of the big ocean going vessels But these changes were felt by our peasantry In their distress, to meet their daily wants and necessities, the peasants

naturally fell into the clutches of usurers, and to pay their exorbitant rates of interest, they had either to mortgage or later on to sell their holdings. Thus, in Bengal, the peasants and those above them whom we call Bhadralog or middle class were becoming desperate when all possible avenues of earning money seemed barred to them.

Then the war came with all the attendant evil effects, the economic distress of the people was intensified their miseries were multiplied. During the course of the war they gave all to assist the Government in a successful campaign against the perfidious enemy, they clothed themselves in rags for the want of a piece of cloth and had to remain satisfied even with one meal a day with the hope that cessation of hostilities would not only bring back the olive branch with pre war standards of comforts and luxuries, but the condition would be made somewhat more comfortable on account of some concessions from the Government. After the cessation they anxiously waited for the fulfilment of their expectations, with a trembling heart for one year. But at last to their utter discomfort, they found that to return to the standard of pre war days was an impossibility. Unrest, like in other countries raised its head. The Indian professional politicians, hitherto, failed to appeal to the mass the economic distress made it possible for them to gain their ears and hence the agitation took a different form. The Indian National Congress instead of being a coterie of lawyers and educated men enlisted a stubborn body of peasants and labourers. Mr Gandhi with his followers welcomed the movement, he made it a point of siding with the labourers. His successful handling of the agrarian question at Motihary and Gujarat made him an idol among the Indian labourers. The Khalifat question threw the religious Muhammadans into his arms, the Hindu Muslim entente so artificially fostered at the Lucknow Congress, became cemented by his hands, when he vowed to protect the interests of the Porte and appealed to the Hindus to take up the cause of the brother Mussulmans. This is one of the main causes but it is rather the apparent than the real root of all these troubles. English capitalists and following their example, Indian capitalists, have exploited Indian resources and labour rather ruthlessly. The huge profits earned were shipped to Europe or to other countries and spent there. The people were left to their miserable lot to eke out their existence as best they may.

All these economic causes have intensified the situation and the peace-loving people of India are gradually drifting into revolution and anarchy. There is still time to stop and to ponder over the matter. To have a statesmanlike view of the whole affairs will tax the constructive energies of the most resourceful politician. He has to study all the events, both separately and collectively he has to assign a reason to every cause and thus to build up a wholesome policy of regeneration which would bring about peace in India and in the Empire at last.

RAI LALITMOHAN SINGH ROY BAHADUR.

POETRY

TWO SONGS FOR WIDOWS

EDITED BY CONFUCIUS

(CONTRIBUTED BY D A WILSON, I C S, RETD)

IN an American book "A Yankee on the Yang Tse," by W E Giel (1904) there is an incident which astonished the writer and which is the best commentary on two beautiful songs for widows edited by Confucius and familiar psalms in China for twenty-four centuries

A young widow was recently pressed to wed the brother of her deceased husband, and refused. In the end she took opium and died. Her husband's family paid a hundred taels damages to hers, and the money was spent on a monument to her honour at her tomb.

The song for the Young Widow is dated between 854 and 813 B.C. (Odes I, 4 and 1, and Chinese Classics, IV, 73-74) and the other, for the Old Widow, a masterpiece of poetry, is dated between 675 and 651 B.C. (Odes I, 10 and 11 Chinese Classics IV, 186-187)

THE YOUNG WIDOW

AIR—*The students' song* 'Bring back my bonnie to me

I

My boat is adrift on the river,

My boat is adrift on the sea,

My darling's away, and for ever,

And empty the world is to me!

Never, never, never another for me, for me!

Never, never, oh, never another for me!

II

My boat is adrift on the river,

My boat is adrift on the sea ,

O Heaven above us for ever !

O Mother ! can't you feel with me ?

Never, never, never another for me, for me !

Never, never, oh, never another for me !

THE OLD WIDOW

AIR—' *My Nannie's Awa'* "

I

The soy bean still blossoms and leans on the thorn

Convolvulus creepers the tomb stones adorn

But I ve none to lean on I linger alone

The man whom I honoured is under the stone

II

Oh, beautiful yet is our pillow of horn ,

The same lovely covers our bed still adorn ,

But, weary for morning I now lie alone

The man whom I honoured is under the stone

III

The days seem all summer days , something is wrong !

The nights seem all winter nights, dreary and long

Though it be for a century, I ll lie alone

My home's now beside him, and under the stone.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

CONTENTS *East India Association—Lyceum Club—Royal United Services Institution—Central Asian Society—Ferne Society—Royal Asiatic Society—Royal Colonial Institute—China Society—India Society—Anglo Egyptian Union*

THE Proceedings of the East India Association will be found on pp 221 297 The next lecture of the East India Association will be held on April 24 at the Caxton Hall (3 45 p m), when Mr Sitaram will read a paper on 'Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic, illustrated by lantern slides Dr F H Thomas will take the chair

There was a meeting of the *Oriental Circle Lyceum Club*, on March 6, when Mrs Shrimpton Giles (in the chair) proposed the toasts for 'India, Japan, and China' These were responded to by Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, K.C.I.E., Mr Tokugawa, First Secretary, Japanese Embassy, and His Excellency Chao Hsin Chu Chinese Chargé d Affaires in London Mr Tokugawa emphasized that the merging of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance into a four Power pact made no difference whatever to the traditional friendship between the two countries. He added that the Japanese people were anxious to rival the cordial reception accorded to the Japanese Crown Prince, when the Prince of Wales arrived at Tokyo

The Chinese Chargé d Affaires stated that the great need of China was education It had taken England many centuries to arrive at her present state of civilization He pleaded for tolerance and sympathy

After the dinner Mr Komai, who, it will be remembered, wrote a beautiful poem at the time of Princess Mary's wedding, entertained the company with some Japanese anecdotes

A reception was held on March 1, at 21 *Cromwell Road*, to bid farewell to the Earl of Lytton on his departure to succeed Earl Ronaldshay in India Amongst those present were Lord Lamington, Sir William Meyer and Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee K.C.I.E.

On March 8, a paper was read before the *Royal United Services Institution* by Colonel W M St G Kirke on "Communications in the Middle East" The lecturer drew a somewhat gloomy picture of the present state of British influence in Persia, which he said, had been supreme at the end of the war He attributed it to various causes, viz. (1) Our vacillating policy, (2) the withdrawal of our troops, (3) the refusal to advance further loans Orientals, he added, did not understand the needs of economy in England, and they had never heard of the Geddes Report.

Consequently they attributed our policy entirely to weakness. As regards Iraq he was more optimistic. There a Government had been established and was working as well as circumstances permitted. In Palestine there were undoubtedly the seeds of serious trouble, caused largely by the influx of undesirable emigrants of Jewish race and with Bolshevik tendencies. The lecturer held that political conditions must needs effect the choice of means of communication. He could not say that he was in favour of counting on the Bagdad Railway as the means of communication between Europe and India. He preferred to rely on a railway line from Haifa to Basra, keeping as far south as possible in order to avoid the proximity of the Holy Cities. From Basra it had been proposed to build a line via Teheran and Ispahan to Quetta, thus joining up with the Indian system. The lecturer pointed however to the enormous technical difficulties and the political objections. He preferred to look forward to a railway following the Persian Gulf and passing through Baluchistan. Similarly with regard to air routes he advised a southern course.

General Brancker (in the chair) described the great advances made with regard to the air routes. There was a fortnightly service from Cairo to Bagdad every two days, and a plane left almost daily from there to Basra. He thought that at an early date this route would be extended to reach Karachi in another two days.

There was a Meeting of the *Central Asian Society* on March 9, when Air Commodore Brook Popham of the Royal Air Force, delivered a lecture on "Some Notes on Aeroplanes with Special Reference to the Cross Desert Route from Cairo to Bagdad" illustrated by lantern slides. He described in detail the conditions in the desert between Ammam and Bagdad. Although this was described as the Arabian desert it was in fact more like a Russian steppe with certain areas covered by lava. The aeroplanes always followed the track across the desert which enabled them to keep their bearings. The landing-grounds in the desert were chiefly mud flats, which, however were hard enough to prevent the wheels from cutting into the soil. The landing-grounds were marked by circular furrows which were specially traced by causing a Rolls Royce armoured car to describe a circle around a man guiding the car with an outstretched rope. Turning to equipment the lecturer said that the most important item was undoubtedly the wireless apparatus. This enabled rescue parties to be summoned in case of break-downs. The aviator could set his watch from the Eiffel Tower in Paris. He reminded us that the defence of Iraq had now been entrusted to the Royal Air Force and from the information so far available it would appear that this has been a wise decision. It was not true to say that this form of defence was in any way more barbaric than others. As a matter of fact it saved many lives, both among the English and among the Arabs. Moreover the flying machine appealed to the romantic side of the nomad Arab's character. Among the slides was one showing the remains of a Roman villa at Ammam, and of a Persian Castle at Azrak.

Mr Sydney A. Armitage Smith, C.B., late Financial Adviser to the Persian Government, lectured on March 13 before the *Persia Society* on "the Bakhtiari Khans and the Bakhtiari Road." He explained that a generation ago there were only two Bakhtiari chieftains, the present Khans were their sons, and consequently all were brothers or first cousins. Special reference was made to the happy life of Armenians in the Bakhtiari country. They were good cultivators, and absolutely no religious prejudice existed. The lecturer's remarks were illustrated with an interesting series of slides showing the 'Bakhtiari road' and the "chateaux of the Khans, all built with due consideration for defence. The importance of this stretch of country lay in the fact that it bordered on important oil wells. The Khans shared in the profits of the yield and were on excellent terms with the officials of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

Mr E. H. Keeling has now been appointed Hon. Secretary of the Persia Society, and there will be a regular series of lectures during the season. The address of the Society is 74 Grosvenor Street, W. 1, where full particulars concerning the objects of the Society can be obtained.

Mr Lee Shuttleworth, I.C.S., delivered an interesting lecture on March 14 on the subject of 'Some Peoples and Religions of the Panjab Himalayas' before the *Royal Asiatic Society*. His remarks were illustrated by a series of lantern slides which gave a very fair impression of the religious fairs which are a regular feature in Kulu from March to October. He said that these fairs were ostensibly for purposes of worship, but the underlying idea was that the local gods paid visits to each other and were accompanied by their adherents. The greatest religious meeting of this kind was always the last in October and was held at Sultan Pur when all the gods, with the exception of Mount Gepen (who was considered too lofty and remote) and another peak, Jamlu paid their respects to Vishnu. The whole was an interesting example of how Hinduism has been superimposed on the local cults.

On the same evening Colonel L. S. Amery, M.P., spoke at the *Royal Colonial Institute* on "Migration within the Empire." Of particular interest to those who study Asiatic affairs were his remarks regarding the strategic position in the Pacific. He explained that the removal of the one serious foe on the Continent had changed the whole problem of naval defence. Owing to the progress of modern scientific inventions the outlying parts of the Empire had become extremely vulnerable. The only solution to this state of affairs was that these outlying parts should obtain a large increase of population from the Mother country. That would enable them to look after their own defence by increasing the number of combatants and broadening the basis of taxation. Nothing was more ruinous than the present system of doles which provided no permanent cure.

"The Muhammadans of China" was the subject of an interesting lecture by Mr Isaac Mason at the *China Society* on March 15. He explained that the white stripe in the Republican Flag of China represented the Muhammadan element, and added that though statistics were conflicting there was probably about eight million. The date of their first arrival in China was wrapped in obscurity. Between the years 960-1018 twenty Arab missions visited the country. Small communities were then beginning to form themselves, and consisted chiefly of traders. In 1262 they had become sufficiently assimilated to be asked to undertake military service. Altogether the arts of war had a special attraction for them. Civil administration did not appeal to them and brought out the real differences between them and the other Chinese subjects. Although in the past there had been friction, recently there had been no trouble, particularly as they eschewed all religious propaganda. About fifty visited Mecca every year and these pilgrims were always held in great honour by their co religionists.

The *India Society* will hold a meeting early in May at the Victoria and Albert Museum, when Dr Vogel (late Indian Archaeological Survey) will read a paper on the influence of Indian art on the Dutch East Indies. The Society is making a special study this year of the expansion of Indian culture to other Asiatic countries. Subsequent lectures in this curriculum will include one on Indo China and one on the Far East.

The recently founded *Anglo Egyptian Union* held its inaugural meeting on March 23. The Executive Committee consists of Sir Henry MacMahon, Sir Rennell Rodd, General Lord Edward Gleichen, Sir Valentine Chirol, and Mr J. A. Spender. Headquarters are at 31 Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.

On March 14 Prince M. Soumbatoff, the Georgian Minister, delivered a striking address to the Foreign Affairs Sub Committee of the National Liberal Club on "The Georgian Question."

NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F R SCATCHERD

I THE PARIS CONFERENCE

As we go to press the proposal for a three months armistice has been telegraphed to the Greek and Turkish Governments by the Foreign Ministers of Britain France and Italy now in conference at Paris. The Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople have been asked to secure the earliest possible reply from the Turkish Government. Meanwhile the Ministers are proceeding with their task of the practical revision of the Sèvres Treaty. It is almost certain that the Greeks will accept the decision of the Powers. Any scheme which should provide for the administration of Asia Minor by the Turkish Nationalist Government under the suzerainty of the Sultan must safeguard the interests of the non Muslim minorities. In the event of the transfer of Smyrna to its former rulers, the happiest solution of the question would be to place the said minorities under the guardianship of the League of Nations.

Greek administration replaced Turkish rule in Smyrna in August, 1920. In order to render the new régime acceptable, little change was made in the existing services, except that in educational and sanitary directions great ameliorations have been effected, and this notwithstanding the urgent military needs of the time.

II THE GENOA CONFERENCE

Fortunately for the nations of Europe the British Premier insists upon going to Genoa thereby manifesting that gift of vision for lack of which the peoples are perishing as surely, if more slowly than during the war.

The Genoa Conference promises to be the largest and most significant ever convened. Forty five invitations have been issued, and every nation in Europe has been summoned save Turkey. Its originator Mr Lloyd George, although he terms it an Economic Conference, puts in the forefront "a general European peace pact" and is confident that he and his co workers will succeed in 'bringing back something substantial from Genoa.' In this he proves himself the statesman and seer as opposed to the mere politician and partisan for in the words of Dr Frank Crane, the prophet of American journalists *

'All that the world needs is to get together. The deepest root-cause of war is unacquaintance. Germany would never have begun the last war if it had understood the rest of the world. It was so locked up in crazy nationalism that it bristled with hates, and hate is always blind. 'Internationalism is not a happy term

* *Current Opinion*, March, 1922

World consciousness sounds better. The intelligent optimist, therefore, has sufficient warrant for expecting the end of war in the not distant future by the only means which will ever end war—that is to say, by the development of a world consciousness, by The Conference Habit.

III THE GREEKS AND THE MUSLIM CLAIMS

Under the above heading the Anglo-Hellenic League has issued a manifesto criticizing the effects the Indian Muslim claims would have on the future of the Near and Middle East were they recognized. It declares that the vast majority of the inhabitants of India have no interest in the matter and that the attempt to dissociate the war between Greece and Turkey from the Great War of 1914-18 is unjust.

'Greece went to war with Turkey and the Allies of Turkey. We accepted Greece as our ally for her services in the war. Greece was granted the provinces of which the Indian Muslims now seek to deprive her. Greece does not deserve desertion or ruin, and the Christians of Thrace, Ionia, and Armenia do not deserve to be left to slavery, expulsion and extirpation.

The manifesto concludes by stating that England cannot discharge her responsibilities to India by doing wrong in the Near East and is signed on behalf of the Anglo-Hellenic League, by W. Pember Reeves, Chairman. A statement of the Indian Muslim point of view will be found on p. 204.

IV THE TRANSITION OF VISCOUNT BRYCE, O.M., 1838-1922

"Fulness of years was his a stainless scroll
Of high achievement and men loved in him
That ardour of the indomitable soul
That time could never dim
The vanished frontiers of a world obscure
To him were as familiar walks of home
And his swift spirit trod with footsteps sure
Byzantium and Rome.

These lines from the 'In Memoriam' verses by D.M.S.* express the thoughts of many who mourn the loss of Lord Bryce. It was in the cause of Armenia that I first met Mr. James Bryce. The last time I saw him was at a joint meeting of London Associations working for Armenia. Lord Bryce was then so spent with overwork that it seemed too cruel to expect his aid, but when the discussion became vital he threw himself into it with all his accustomed vigour.

The United States, as well as Great Britain and her Dominions, had come to regard Lord Bryce as a mutual friend and trusted leader, and by his death Armenia loses one of its most valiant champions, since he was for many years the counsellor of American teachers and missionaries throughout Turkey.

"In Bryce lived a man who faced the worst in history—the wars, the atrocities, the secret treaties, the oppression, and yet dare still to believe, not in a dogma, merely, but in mankind.

"The earth might be without form and void, and darkness might be on the face of the deep, but to this apostle of the genuine the

* *Punch*, February 1, 1922.

need was not for cynicism, not for pessimism, not even for sympathy
 Over the chaos Bryce still flung the watchword by which he lived
 ' Let there be Light ' *

V GREECE'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Even *The Near East*, so well informed in Near Eastern politics, is puzzled by the internal condition of Greek politics and regards the reformation of a Gounaris Cabinet as a temporary arrangement pending the decision of the Near East Conference

Despite the disturbed conditions due to bitter political strife, Dr Platon Drakoules is continuing his constructive social work inspiring and informing the crusade on behalf of the Officers Widows League, organizing celebrations of the Centenary of the passing of the Richard Martin Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and investigating the deplorable housing conditions which afflict beautiful Athens no less than other cities less favoured by natural and historic associations Greece was represented at the recent International Town Planning Association which held its Conference under the auspices of the *Daily Mail* Ideal Housing Exhibition but owing to postal irregularities Dr Drakoules report was not received in time to be presented to the Conference

THE RESTORATION OF JERUSALEM†

By H V LANCHESTER F.R.I.B.A

From the moment that General Allenby entered the Holy City steps were taken to improve its condition from the standpoint of health and amenity and the zeal and intelligence of the military staff ensured that the more detrimental activities were promptly checked Of course it was clear that something more was needed if constructive effort was to carry further the work of re-organization merely foreshadowed by the preliminary regulations, and the formation of the Pro-Jerusalem Society in September, 1918, with the sympathy and support of the Governor, Ronald Storrs, provided the motive force for these activities. As defined by him the Society became 'the Military Governor civically and aesthetically in Council,' and its objects were 'the preservation and advancement of the interests of Jerusalem its district and inhabitants.

The book before us is a simple and straightforward description of the Society's operations during the military control of Jerusalem—i.e., for rather more than two years from the spring of 1918 On the Council of the Society all races and interests are represented, Arab, Jew Armenian, and European—Muslim, Zionist, and Christian—with Sir Herbert Samuel as Hon President and Ronald Storrs the Governor, as President.

* P W Wilson, *The American Review of Reviews*, March, 1922

† "Jerusalem, 1918-20" Edited by C R Ashbee. (London Murray) £2 2s

At the commencement of its work it was so fortunate as to secure the services of C. R. Ashbee as Civic Advisor who has been chiefly responsible for compiling and illustrating in so vivid and graphic a fashion this record of his activities, and those of his coadjutors in cleansing reconstructing and embellishing the Holy City. Though of course in this short time only an instalment of what is needed has been carried out, yet, taking into consideration the difficulties to be surmounted and the fact that the limited funds at the disposal of the Society are mainly contributed by well disposed friends, the progress made is amazingly great and what is even more satisfactory it has been on lines so imaginative and at the same time so sane and conservative, that even the hypercritical could find no grounds for objection.

Mr. Ashbee has long been recognized as a craftsman of individuality and as a keen student of social life. His previous writings display a penetrating insight into the relations between the arts and social development; he has not yet solved these problems—who has?—but he has come as near to the goal as any one and is indubitably the man among all others who is in exactly his right place in reorganizing Jerusalem. Ashbee is helping Jerusalem by means of his keen interest in the craft methods of all times; it is not inconceivable that Jerusalem will help Ashbee by defining more clearly to him the relations between production, the arts and the people, enabling him to find further guidance as to the co-ordination that makes fine the man as well as the product.

This is not however our chief concern at the moment but rather what is being done and what is proposed for Jerusalem. The work of the Pro Jerusalem Society falls under two main heads—the restoration and embellishment of the city and the reorganization of social life and productive crafts. Taking the first of these it is necessary to form a general idea of the topography of the area being dealt with. Ancient Jerusalem stood on an irregular hill measuring rather more than a mile from north to south and over half a mile from east to west. The present walled city occupies the northern two thirds of this area; the southern part including Mount Zion being mainly garden ground covering the ancient ruins. To the south east lies the pool and village of Siloam, to the east the deep valley separating the city from the Mount of Olives and Mount Scopus, and to the north west the modern suburb containing most of the large hostels for pilgrims. The railway coming from the south has its terminus outside the south west angle of the existing city.

The Military Government in 1918 called in Mr. McLean to suggest possible developments, and he advised that a broad zone should be reserved to the east and south in which very little building should be permitted, and that the city should be extended only to the north and west. Mr. McLean's sketch plans for such extensions were not appropriate to the site or requirements, but the demarcation of the two areas has been more or less accepted by Professor Geddes and by Mr. Ashbee, though subject to the variations in detail that their successive studies on the ground have indicated as desirable.

Not only are these large areas to the south and east to be kept open

but a narrower strip right round the existing city wall is to be treated as an encircling park, and as a commencement towards this Mr Ashbee is clearing the line of the rampart and opening a walk along it, with gardens at all vacant places. The portions near the citadel and from thence to Mount Zion have already been completed, and when the work has been carried right round the walls, these will be disengaged from many accretions and show themselves as one of the most perfect mediæval enceintes in existence. It is not proposed that the open ground outside this enceinte shall be treated as a conventional park. The bulk of the land will, it is hoped, always remain under fellahin tillage, or even in its present wildness, but a certain amount of terracing will be done, and fertilizing refuse deposited on the rock plateaux. A fair amount of tree planting is in hand, and this will be extended to the city development areas, where most of the streets will be fringed with trees.

Another important undertaking is the clearing of the bazaars within the city, some of which had been allowed, under the Turkish régime, to become choked with refuse to such an extent that they were inaccessible. The most important of these the Sûq el Qattanîn, is now being reoccupied and others are in course of reorganization, beyond this a general restoration of the more interesting buildings is in hand, having careful regard to the traditional methods of construction and decoration.

Mr Ashbee's second sphere of activity links up with this work in providing decorative tiles and other necessary embellishments. Here the main effort is the re-establishment of various artistic industries. Two of these are already in operation, weaving and tile making and negotiations are on foot to revive glass work also.

During the war the American Red Cross provided refugees with looms and started weaving spinning etc. The Pro Jerusalem Society took over these looms, and has established the industry in the Sûq el Qattanîn already referred to.

The revival of tile-making stands on a different footing, here Muslim Wakf funds have been employed, and after some unsuccessful experiments, tiles are now being produced that compare favourably with the early tile work on the Dome of the Rock.

The Society hopes also to revive on a basis of good standard the industries of carpet-weaving, metal work, and cabinet making believing that a re-establishment of the crafts is, from every point of view the most vital need in Palestine at the present juncture. As Mr Ashbee puts it "Work with the hands, the creative work, the work of the imagination applied to a man's personal labour, keeps men from empty political speculation. For every craftsman we create, we create also a potential citizen, for every craftsman we waste, we fashion a discontented effendi."

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